

THE SYRIANS IN AMERICA

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
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THE SYRIANS IN AMERICA
— A —
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INTRODUCTION

Syria and Syrians constitute the first land and the first people in Southwestern Asia who have entered into modern civilization. They stand alone in this. If Syria were an islanded-land, instead of being for four thousand years a thoroughfare of conquering peoples, swept by many tides, it would be, in its place, as striking an example of progress as Japan.

Southwestern Asia begins with the fringe of the vast tableland of the Central Asia steppes, lifted into an Arctic air, a vast desolation. The Khanates of Turkestan have changed the drill of their soldiery and are responsive to Russian administration; but they are as they are, imitating and not well the flaming architecture of the days of Tamerlane and still walking in the track of the Institutes of Bokhara. The book shops in the city of that name are still the great center of the book-buying of Islam. If the Emir of Afghanistan has his aeroplanes, Cabul could neither make nor repair them. Beluchistan is where it always was. The lithographed pages of the newspapers of Persia are a pathetic proof of a land still in the age and bondage of the written word, not having attained the full liberty of print. Mesopotamia, were the English troops withdrawn, would be where Mosul was when, as a child, I saw its gates nearly seventy years ago, as far as the real life of the desert, the town and the rivers twain are concerned. The Armenian Soviet Republic has far more self-government than the Russian province of Erivan in 1913. Armenians are scattered over the trade of the world. They almost

monopolize in some of the cities in Europe and America the trade in Asiatic rugs, but they have not taken a place in European banking as has Greece, nor is their trade as far-flung as that of the Syrian merchant. Nor has the Armenian created a new literature on the same scale as has Syria and the Syrians. The strength of Angora is to-day the strength of the past rather than of to-day or to-morrow. To me, the Angora group as I meet the few I have come in contact with, follow their work and see their utterances, remind me more of the old Turkish Pashas whom I saw as a boy after the Crimean War, than of the young Turks of the past fifteen years, whom we once believed and hoped, alas, in vain, would recast the Ottoman rule. I am strongly inclined to think the Mustapha Kemal Pasha would have felt much more at home with Barbarossa, or the greater viziers of the past, than he has with Envers Bey or even Talaat.

The Syrians have in the last seventy years added a new chapter to the loftier tone of Arabic literature. I can myself remember seeing even Moslem eyes brighten as the poems of Nasif el Yaziji were adequately read; how hard a task and how difficult to achieve. A new field of fiction has been created in Syria which influences the Arab world as a whole. Modern journalism in Arabic has been almost wholly created by Syrians. A Syrian edits the organ of the Shareef of Mecca, who sits in the seat of Muhammad. The leading magazine at Cairo, foremost in the Arab world, was brought into being by Syrians. Wherever there are newspapers in Arabic, they are generally, not always, edited by Syrians. The new literature of the Arab tongue, in science, in history, in the discussion of modern issues, is by no means as large, as effective or as widespread as the like literature in the newly awakened peoples between the Ægean and the Baltic, but the output of

Syria on modern topics and the progress of to-day exceeds that of any land or people in Southwestern Asia.

This is not due simply to access and position. Egypt has access and position as much as Syria. Persia has as lofty a tradition. Intellectual ability is still high in Mesopotamia. Narrow as is its intellectual tradition, cramped as it has been by fanaticism, yet no one can fail to see that the Khanates have powerfully influenced Moslem legalism. Let us not forget, this is one of the great systems of law, the weight of whose codes, statutes, traditions, decisions and precedents are still cited and argued, and establish property and personal rights, from the Judicial Committee of Privy Council of Westminster to the far-flung fringing palms of the Malaysian Archipelago.

But the trading instinct of the Phœnician has carried the Syrian trader over both North and South America as well as Africa and Southern Asia. He has penetrated to the head-waters of the Amazon, he is to be found in all parts of the West Coast of Latin America and more than one national legislature and city ordinance has acknowledged the superior commercial ability of the Syrian by trying to exclude him altogether. The trade of Brazil passes more and more into his hands and every year there appear at Beirût from the very ends of the Western world and the outer Eastern coast of Asia, the sons of the alumni of the American University at Beirût returning each autumn to share the education of their fathers, at the site of the greatest university of the Mediterranean, since the Roman Empire reached its utmost bounds from Bactria to Britain, from the Great Atlas to the North Sea.

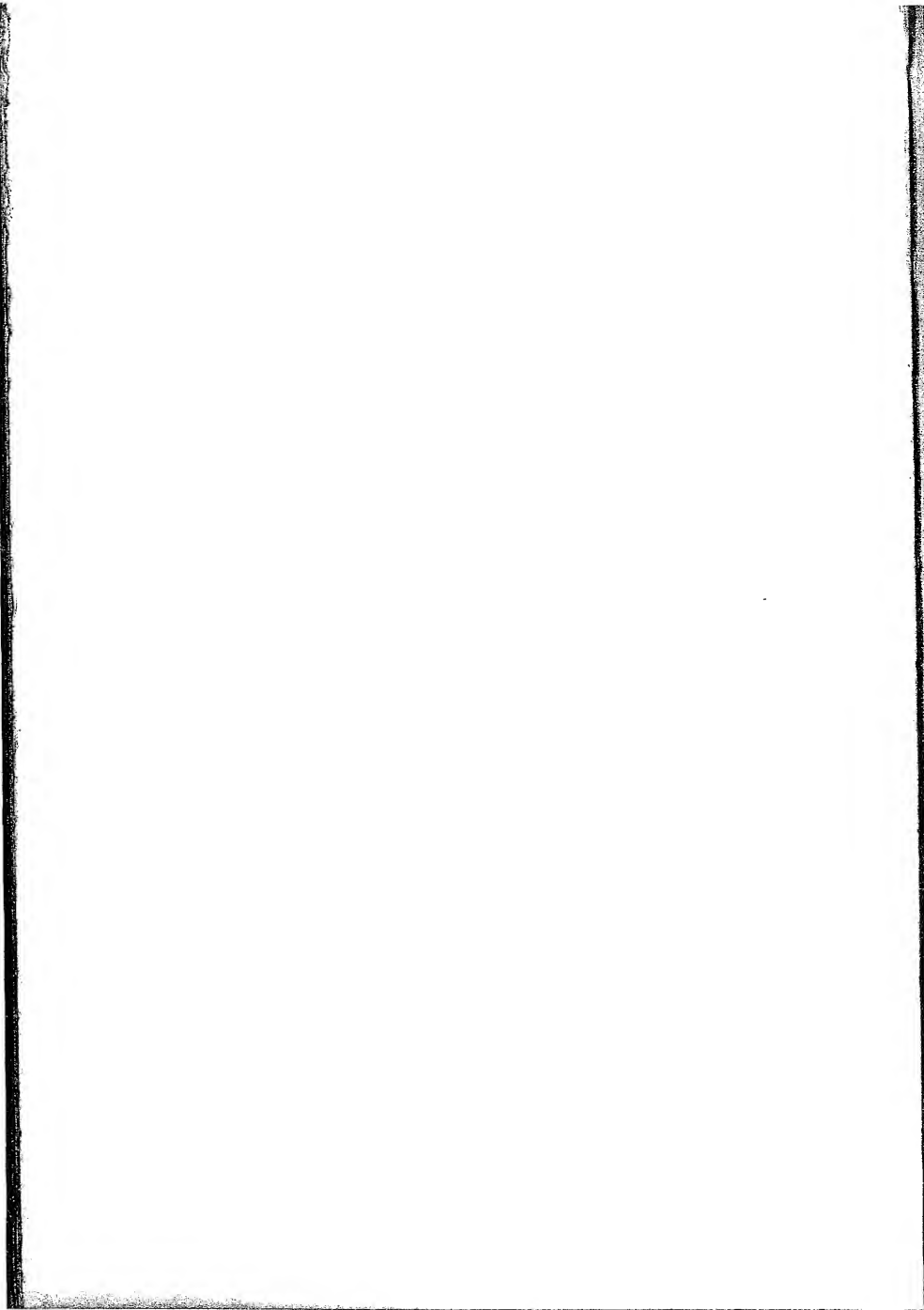
This cosmopolitan note lends significance and weight to the Syrian migration of our day. I know no American city where I have not spoken Arabic

and no port on the Gulf or the Caribbean where the Syrian is absent. Twenty-five years ago, I found a Syrian in command in the Southwestern corner of Morocco, north of the Atlas, of an outpost, awaiting an attack from the locally independent tribes of Wad Sur. No more intellectual immigration has come to us in the past forty years. None more swiftly feels the American spirit or retains more tenaciously the spirit of Syria and the Syrian. No melting pot is the United States. It never has and it never will reduce our population to a common amalgam. The stocks of many European peoples and most of the Mediterranean races have been grafted on our national stock. There they will remain and retain their old life, strength, genius and flavor. They all, if they abide in belief in liberty, shall be grafted in and grow, maintaining an identity through centuries to come.

So after three centuries, Hollander, Huguenot, men of the Palatinate and both banks of the Rhine, of Brittany and of Sweden and Switzerland retain their identity in their descendants. The descendants of Baron Graffenreid of Berne who founded Newbern are still among us. What would we not give if we had a close and contemporaneous study of the Huguenots who came here two centuries ago in such throngs that a sixth of Philadelphia spoke French when Franklin began his work there as a printer? A like service has Dr. Philip K. Hitti done in this volume. Scholar and historian, he has given us the best narrative from original sources of the foundations of Islam, he made himself his own place in New York and might have remained here. He preferred to return to his own people and serve Syria and the Syrian at home. His knowledge of its early past, his intimate acquaintance with Syrian immigration, his sympathy with the life from which this addition to American life comes, all these things

enable him to understand, to appreciate and to describe the Syrian in America. For all these Syrian traditions I have the deepest sympathy. There I was born and there to-day the youngest of my father's descendants are passing their childhood days.

TALCOTT WILLIAMS.



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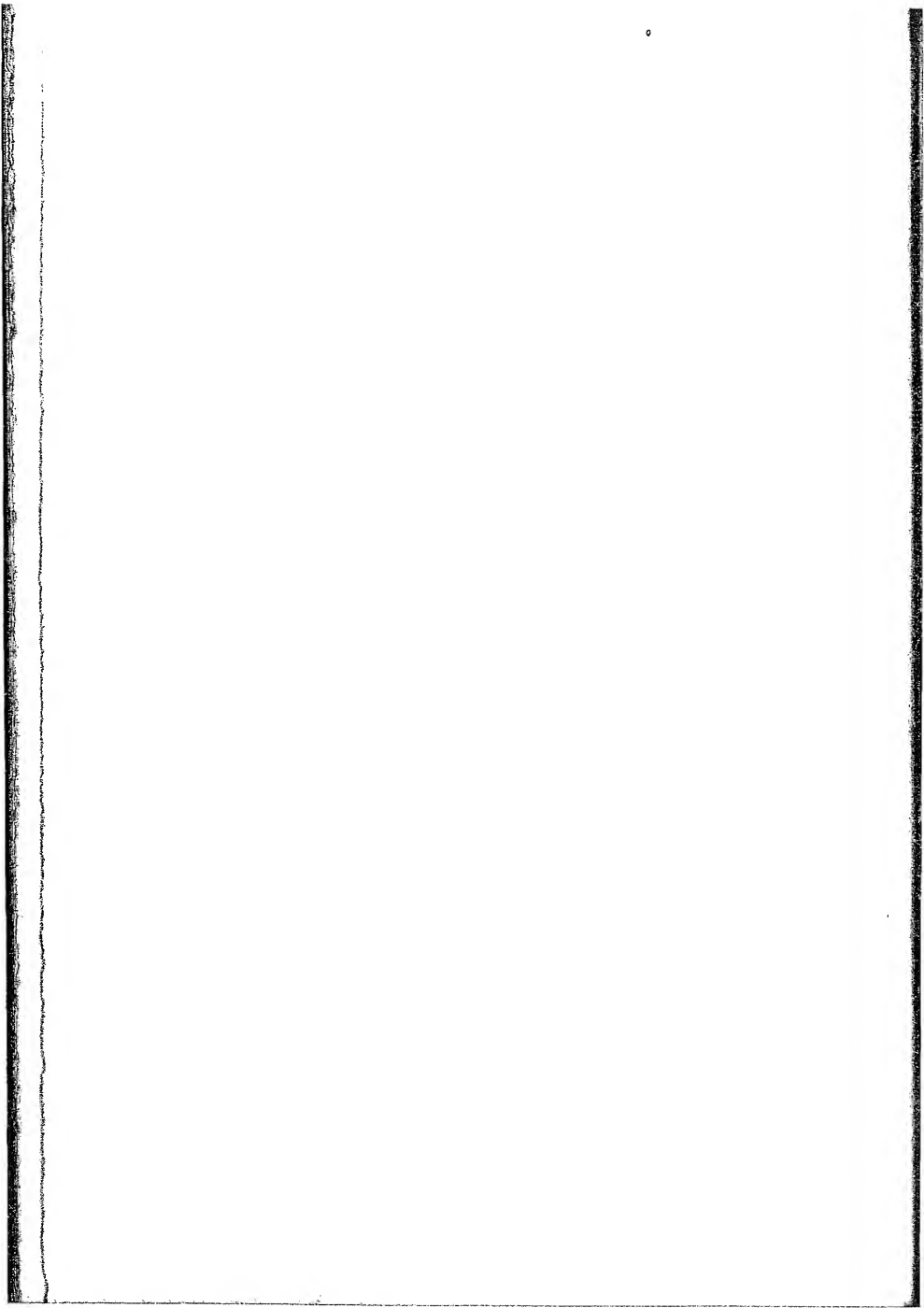
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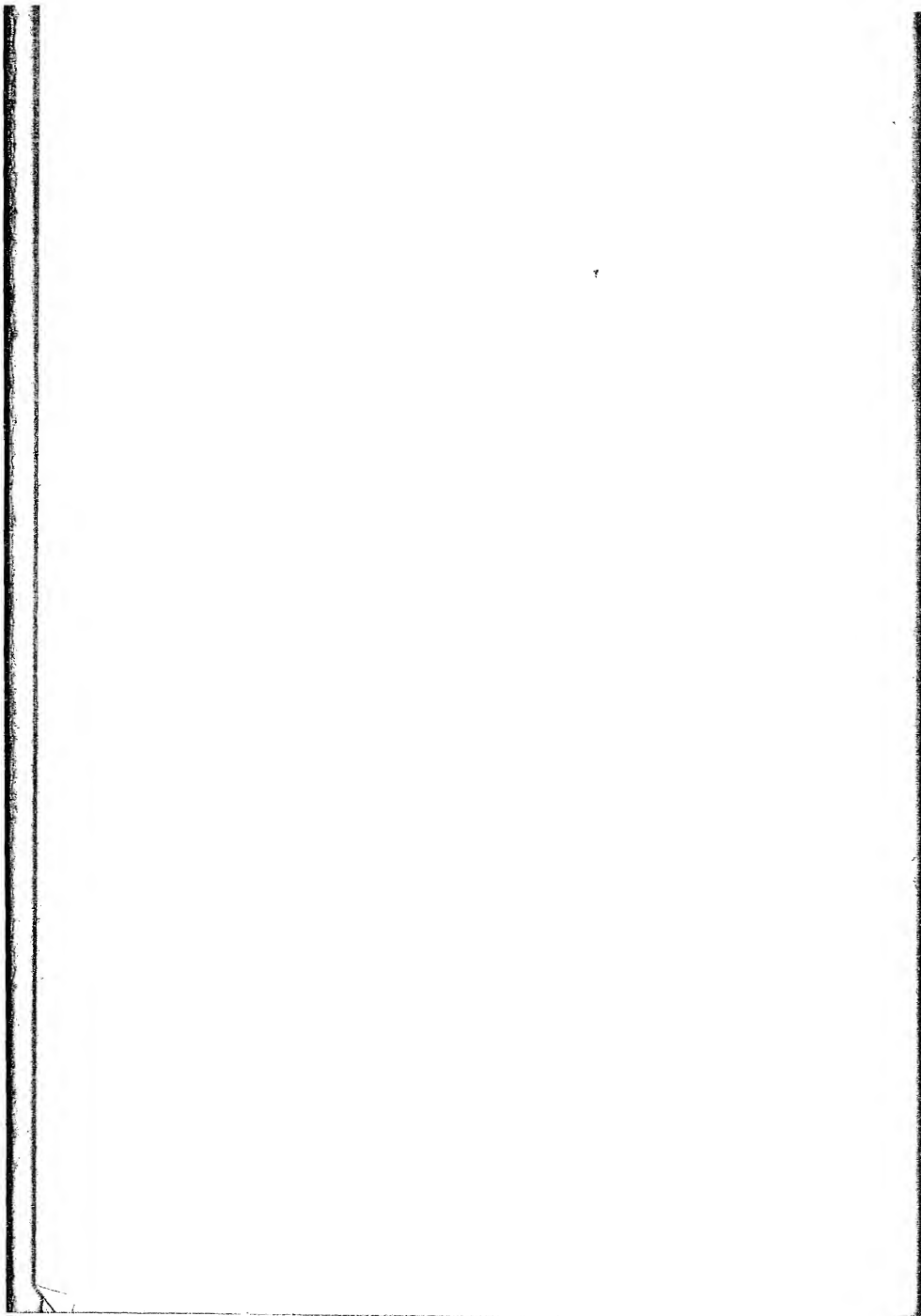
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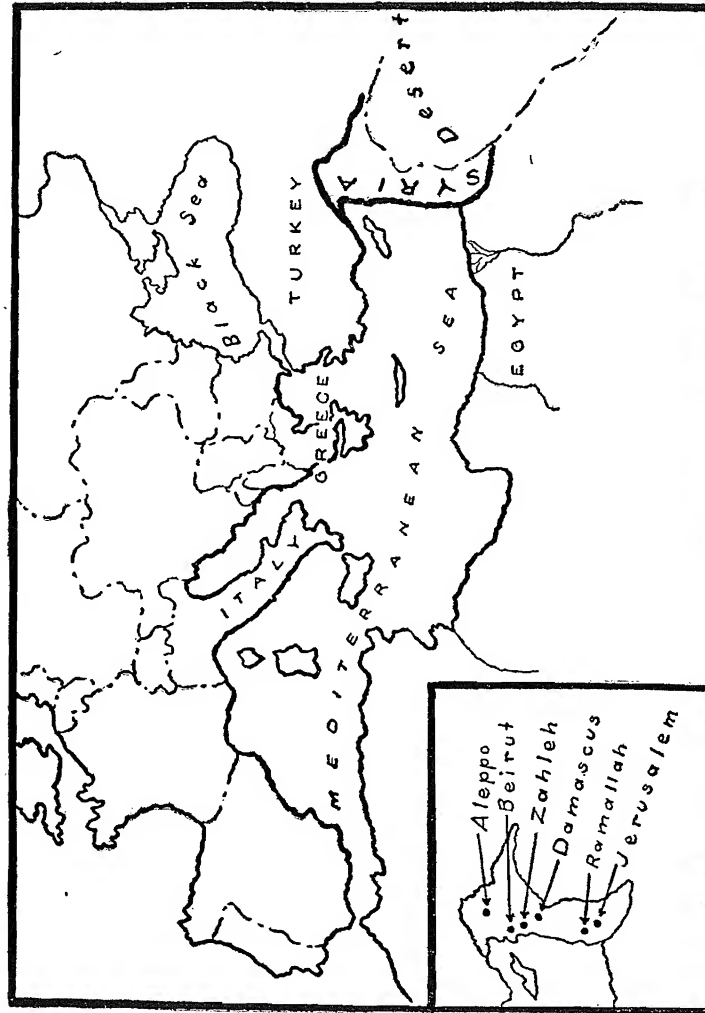


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THE SYRIANS IN AMERICA



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF SYRIA WITH INSET SHOWING LOCATION OF THE CHIEF SYRIAN CITIES

THE SYRIANS IN AMERICA

Chapter I

HISTORIC AND GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND: SOCIAL, MORAL, AND POLITICAL ANTECEDENTS

I: RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Syrians not Turks.—The Syrians are neither Turks, as the United States census would make them,¹ nor Arabs as some of them would take themselves to be. Having lived under Turkish suzerainty for the last four centuries, the Syrians are taken for Turks by almost all those among whom they settle in their lands of emigration. Throughout Central and South America they go by the name *Turcos*. A Syrian in California once spent a cold, dreary night, before Thanksgiving Day, in a race for his life, as he imagined, because he had overheard the farmer who employed him, tell his daughter of his intention "to kill the turkey"! The fact is that between the Semitic Arabic-speaking Syrians, on the one hand, and the Mongolian Ural-Altaic-speaking Turks, on the other hand, there is hardly anything in common.

The Syrians not Arabs.—Likewise the appellation *awlād l'Arab* of which they are particularly fond is a misnomer. It has linguistic rather than ethnic connotation. The Syrians spoke Aramaic throughout

¹In the reports of the fourteenth decennial census of 1920, the Syrians were for the first time treated as a separate people.

the greater part of their history, and their adoption of the Arabic tongue is a comparatively recent event, being subsequent to the rise of Islam and the Arab invasion. Some Syrians are undoubtedly of Arab stock, but, after all, culture, and not a strain of blood, is the determining factor in the identification of a race. Dr. Yohannan of Columbia University was one of the first in this country to call attention to the fact that those new-comers among whom he worked in Washington Street, New York, for Trinity Church in the latter part of the eighties, were Syrians rather than Arabs.

The Syrians not Assyrians.—Nor are the Syrians Assyrians. The latter, domiciled in certain regions of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Northwestern Persia, are sometimes called "Syrians" in spite of an extraordinarily rich nomenclature as Assyrians, Arameans, Chaldeans and Nestorians;^{1a} but they should not be confused with the modern inhabitants of Syria, the Holy Land, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Failure to keep clear this distinction between Syrians and Assyrians has often led to great confusion. During the summer of 1918 a number of reports were circulated regarding the arrival of certain "Syrian" refugees at San Francisco who had escaped Turkish massacres and fled to this country *via* Japan. They turned out to be Assyrians. It was later reported that charges were made against a certain Persian consul for having assisted Persians and "Syrians" in evading the draft, although, on the face of it, it was apparent that no Persian consul in this country could have jurisdiction over Syrian nationals. In a brief letter to *The New York Times*, dated August 15, 1918, I emphasized the necessity of distinguishing between the two names, which, even at present, are still being used interchangeably in our current literature.

^{1a} See Dr. Abraham M. Yohannan, *The Death of a Nation*, pp. 1-4.

Syrians a mixed Semitic race.—Who are the Syrians then? The modern Syrians are the remnant of the ancient Phœnician-Canaanite tribes who entered Syria about 2500 B.C., the Aramean Israelite hordes who arrived about 1500 B.C., and the Arabs who have drifted, and still drift in, from the desert and gradually pass from a nomadic to an agricultural state.

With this Semitic stock as a substratum the Syrians are a highly mixed race of whom some rightly trace their origin back to the Greek settlers and colonists of the Seleucidæ period, others to the Frankish and other European Crusaders, and still others to Kurdish and Persian invaders and immigrants.

The land.—Syria,^{1b} the homeland of the Syrians, is a narrow strip of land, four hundred by one hundred fifty miles, extending from the Taurus range and the Euphrates in the north to the Sinaitic peninsula in the south, and hemmed in between the Mediterranean Sea on the west and the desert on the east. The topography of the land presents a highly complicated variety of plain, valley and mountain. Roughly speaking the surface divides itself into four parallel strips: (1) the coast or maritime plain, which is by no means of uniform breadth and regularity, being wide and extensive in Palestine and dwindling into a mere ribbon at the foot of the Lebanon; (2) the western range of which Mt. Lebanon rising to a height of ten thousand feet forms the backbone; (3) the Orontes-Jordan-Arabah valley, famous for its al-Buka ("Cleft" or Coele-Syria) and containing in the south the deepest trench on the earth's surface, that of the Dead Sea, 1,300 feet below the sea-level; (4) and lastly the eastern range, which opposes Lebanon by Anti-Lebanon and rises

^{1b} Throughout this work Syria is used in the pre-war sense of the term.

at Jabal al-Sheikh (Mt. Hermon) to a height of 9,050² feet. This natural division of the land into elongated and narrow strips—mountain and rift, and mountain and littoral plain—has left it almost untraversed by common roads, except for a few Roman military roads, until French engineers and railway builders began to assail the Lebanon in our own time. Its effect upon the occupation and the character of the people, as we shall see later, cannot be overestimated. It left the population divided socially, politically and economically and served to perpetuate their racial differences and prejudices.

Syria a connecting link.—Syria lies on the line of least resistance between the countries that formed the early seats of civilization. It occupies a strategic position in the map of the Old World. A glance at the map will suffice to show that it is a connecting link, a bridge—if you please—between three continents: Europe, Asia, and Africa.

A cradle of religions.—Syria is the birthplace of two monotheistic religions, Judaism and Christianity, and is closely related to the birth and evolution of the third, Muhammadanism. The eye of the Christian, the Muhammadan, and the Jew, wherever the Christian, the Muhammadan and the Jew may be to-day, is turned to some place in Syria for religious devotion and inspiration, and the foot is directed towards it for pilgrimage. In the words of Sir George Adam Smith³ this country “has been of greater significance to mankind, spiritually and materially, than any other single country in the world.

The battlefield of nations.—Syria has had a unique record in the annals of the world. Situated as it is between the three historic continents, it provided the

² George Adam Smith, *Syria and the Holy Land*, pp. 11-34. For a general treatise consult Smith's *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*.

³ *Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 5.

ancient, and, to a large extent, the mediæval world with its battlefield in time of war and market-place in time of peace. Its military history has been fairly pictured as the history of almost all the world conquerors from the time of Thutmose and Alexander down to the days of Napoleon. Nowhere else has so much human achievement been squeezed into so narrow a space as in Syria.

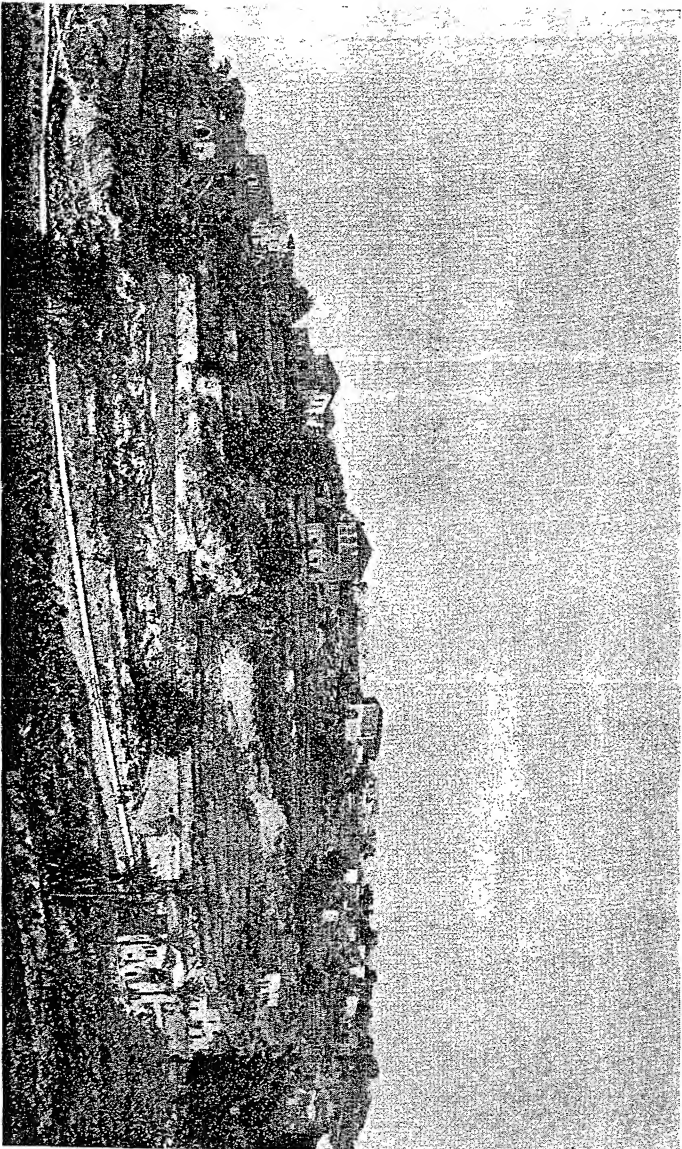
At different and consecutive times, the Egyptians, Assyrians and Babylonians held sway over the country. The Macedonian invasion of 332 B.C. left Syria under Greek control until Pompey in 63 B.C. wrested it from the Seleucidæ and added it to the Roman possessions. After the rise of Islam it fell from the hands of the Byzantines as the first prey to the Arab conquerors (634-640 A.D.) and provided for nearly a century (661-750) the seat of the Umayyād Caliphate. For the next three centuries Syria served as a shuttlecock for foreign conquerors, African and Asiatic, and then became once more the field of decision between the Cross and the Crescent. In 1516 the Ottoman Turks took it from the Egyptian Mamluks, and ruled, or rather misruled it, until General Allenby, seven years ago, led his forces victoriously through the valley of the Jordan and across the Esdraelon plain. Thus throughout all the ages has Syria lain athwart the path of ambitious leaders; and its people, like a football, have been tossed from one hand to another.

National heritage and traits.—Such checkered history, on the one hand, and diversified physical configuration on the other, could not but have left their indelible impress upon the character of the people who chose Syria for their abode. The same more or less impassable barriers in the physical environment which impeded industrial development and commercial intercourse forbade social communication and interrelation between the different groups of the

peoples. The topography of the country decreed that each small habitation district shall be closely confined within itself. A favorite folk-song which survived in the Lebanon as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century epitomized this fact in the phrase, "Thy husband, O beauteous one, has ventured on a trip to Damascus all alone." Instead, therefore, of a homogeneous, amalgamated Syrian race, we find in Syria a congeries of small local-minded kin groups, enjoying each an almost independent existence, but in no case with the "instinct of the hive" fully developed. The groups represent different degrees of advancement.

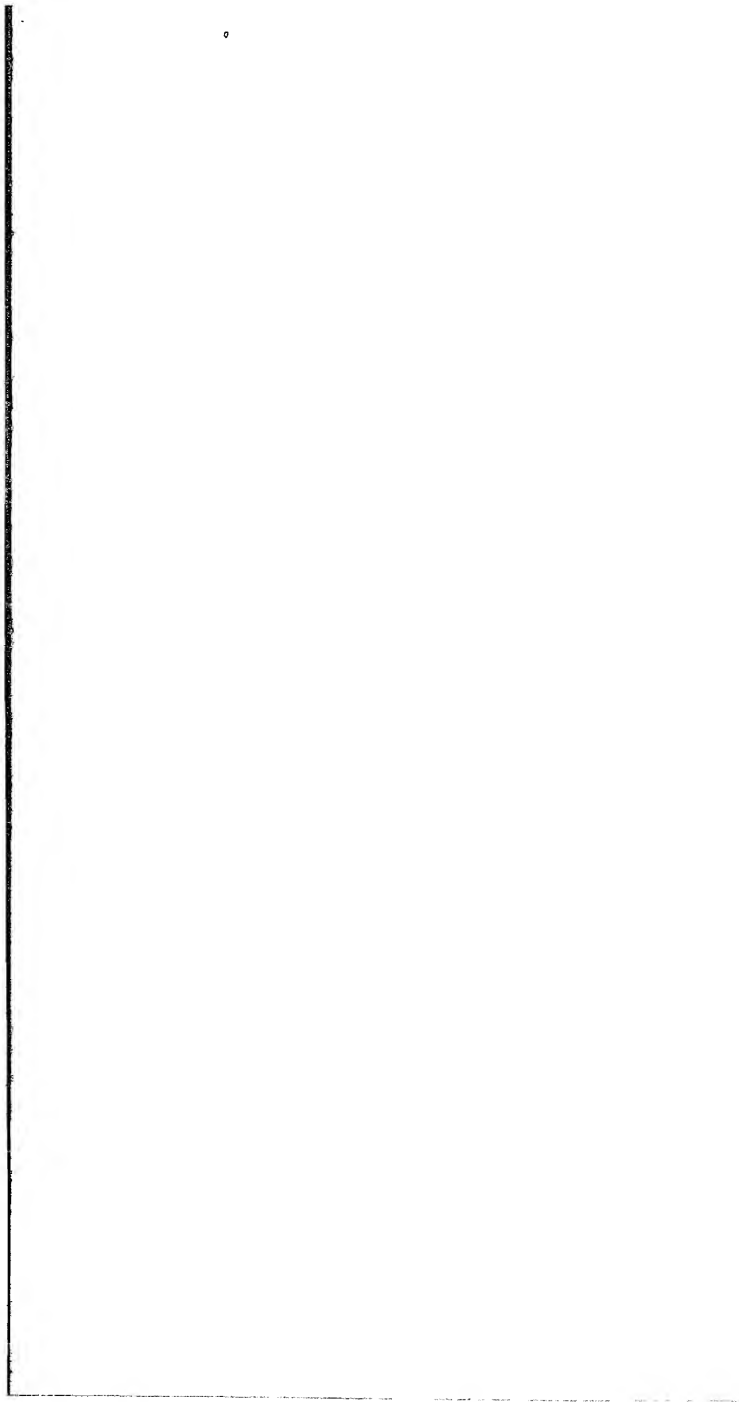
In a community with such history and geography, the morals and habits of each of the isolated groups, once formed, acquire the tendency to become crystallized and fossilized in the life of the land. Thus the Nusayriyyah of northern Syria, the Maronites of the Lebanon, the Druzes of Haurān and southern Lebanon have nestled for centuries in their respective habitats and preserved pre-Muhammadan, even pre-Christian, relics of practice and belief. The Samaritans of Nablus, ancient Shechem, transplanted by Sargon in the eighth century before the Christian era, are still represented in our day by one hundred eighty individuals. In Ma'lūla and two neighboring villages on the slope of the Anti-Lebanon, Syriac, like an oasis in a desert or an island amidst the sea, still persists, and has held its own ever since the Arabic superseded the Aramaic as the spoken language of Syria in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Clannishness or factionalism is therefore the most pronounced feature of Syrian character. We shall find it asserting itself in their lands of emigration as it has been asserting itself throughout their history. In religious life it takes the form of bigotry, in economic and business affairs it appears in the lack of co-operative effort and failure to do team-



Photograph by Strydom Bros.

A VILLAGE IN LEBANON



work, and in political matters its results are a disintegrated and inharmonious national life.

II: SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Social consciousness.—The most important element, as we have just observed, in the social life of the Syrians has always been the lack of like-mindedness. The local mind, instead of the social mind, is the one developed. This state always results in intensifying family consciousness. Indeed the Syrian home-life is one of the best features of his entire life, and his tender, affectionate devotion to the members of his immediate family has often elicited favorable comment from tourists and Orientalists. In such a scheme, however, there can be no place for national feeling, to say nothing about international feeling. The Syrian is the man without a country *par excellence*. His patriotism takes the form of love for family and sect, and when expressed in inanimate terms, love for the unexcelled scenery of Syria with its glorious sunshine and invigorating air. Syrian patriotism has no political aspects.

Leadership

Patriarchal leadership.—In a state so composed, wherein the forces of leadership are to be sought is not hard to discern. The head of the family or tribe is an *ex-officio* leader. His claim for respect is based on his seniority of existence. Even in such personal matters as marriage, travel or change of occupation, the counsel of the *sheikh* is ordinarily sought by the younger members of the group.

Clerical leadership.—This patriarchal influence is a sphere within the larger and concentric sphere of ecclesiastic and religious influence. What the priest is to the Christians, so is the *sheikh* to the Druzes and Muslims—a leader not in the spiritual realm only, but in secular matters as well.

According to the Turkish, or rather Muhammadan, system of organization, law, government, and religion are different aspects of one and the same thing. The only conceivable course, therefore, after the subjugation of Syria and western Asia, was to leave a part of the civil authority in the hands of the spiritual heads of the *millets* which constituted parts of the one-time Ottoman Empire. It is a significant fact that in 1919 the Maronite Patriarch with a staff of bishops and priests appeared at the Peace Conference in Paris to voice the national aspirations and political sentiments of the Christian Lebanese. It should be added, however, that among the Muhammadans this type of "clerical" leadership does not assert itself to the same extent as among the Christians, Islam having more or less of a loose form of hierarchy and being in this respect one of the most democratic forms of faith.

Traditional leadership.—A cross section through the various types of leadership operating among the people of Syria will, moreover, reveal that parallel, and sometimes in opposition, to the patriarchal and clerical forms is a third kind of leadership based on the traditional claim of "noble blood" or superior ancestry. The *sheikh*, the *amir*, the *bey*, regardless of personal merits or demerits, is the one usually elected or appointed to office. Certain Druze and Christian families among the so-called aristocracy of Syria insist upon intermarrying with certain families, or each family within itself, and have insisted upon this practice in the past, contrary to all laws of eugenics, until many of their modern scions have degenerated into mere mediocrities, or less than mediocrities, but their claim for a following has never yet been relinquished.

Feudal leadership.—The vast majority of the modern Syrians, however poor they may be, own their own homes and farms, but the feudal system

of land tenure, introduced from Europe during the Crusades and which in Europe disappeared in the middle ages, has lingered in Syria until as late as the middle of the last century, and in some places until the present time. The upheavals which took the form of bloody strike between the Maronites and Druzes and which culminated in the civil war of 1860 witnessed its last throes in Lebanon. Many of its traces, however, could not have failed to have survived, and have been transmitted to the present time. Consequently a number of petty "feudal lords" still flourish in the country and exact obedience and loyalty from their tenants and protégés. Their superior economic advantages constitute their chief asset. Their influence in the interior of the country and in its plains—Haurān, al Bukā and Marj ibn-Amir—is still a force to be reckoned with. The new ideas filtering into the country through education and emigration, as well as the newly acquired wealth of returned emigrants, are slowly but surely undermining this and the other types of leadership; but the fact remains that the reins are still in the hands of the "old régime."

Education

Education by clergy and sheikhs.—Education in Syria is the privilege of the select few. Until the middle of last century it was in the monopoly of the clergy, *sheikhs*, and '*ulemā*'. The sight of a long, brass inkstand with a horn for the reed pens was indicative of the high degree of learning attained by the bearer. The learning of the age consisted in mastering reading, writing and arithmetic, with the acquisition of a general knowledge of religious literature. That the "mastering" did not always master is illustrated in the story of the *sheikh* who was one day confronted with a written document which

he began to read as a bill of exchange. When interrupted by the confounded woman who asserted that it was a letter from her husband in America, the *sheikh* replied, "Why don't you say so, that I may read it as such?"

The school is still a necessary adjunct to the mosque in Muslim, and to the church in Christian communities. In summer the pupils take their seats on stones under the oak tree in the yard, and in winter inside the place of worship. The diligence and studiousness of the class is measured by the volume of noise produced as the students vie with each other in making their voices heard. With an alien Turkish government in control, all attempts at enlightenment and popular education have been circumscribed and discouraged. In such a state a public school is nothing less than an incongruity.⁴

American missionaries.—In the early part of the nineteenth century, American missionaries and educators began to find their way into Syria. The pioneers among them were Levi Parsons who landed in Jaffa in 1821, and Pliny Fish who, two years later, occupied Beirūt. In course of time they established a number of elementary and high schools culminating in the Syrian Protestant College, now known as the American University of Beirūt. Their example was soon followed by English and French missionaries of Protestant and Catholic denominations. In 1870 the Presbyterian Board succeeded the Congregational Board in the Syrian mission. The handicaps under which these early teachers had to labor is illustrated by the story of the Turkish censor who objected to the admission into the country of a printing press on the ground that it had marked on it so many "revolutions" per hour. He held that there

⁴*Reports Immigration Commission*, vol. I, p. 99, show that 53.3% of Syrians admitted into United States between 1899 and 1910 were illiterate.

were enough revolutions in the country without it. I well remember how the Home Geography text-book in which I studied at the American High School of Lebanon had certain pages missing because they contained a physical map of Turkey, parts of which had the same color as a map of China.

In spite of all that, the intellectual awakening that marked the first decade of the twentieth century and resulted in the establishment of native schools and colleges, and the foundation of many printing houses has almost been phenomenal. Illiterate parents everywhere had no greater desire than to see their children educated. The Druze father of a student, who buried his cherished traditional theories about the indignity of labor and worked as a gateman in Beirūt in the day time, walked one night all the way to his olive orchard in the mountain and carried back on his shoulders a basket of fresh olives which he sold early in the morning in order to buy a history book for his scholar boy.

Educated Syrians.—A number of educated Syrians hold positions of eminence and responsibility in Egypt, the Sudan and other regions of the Near East. It was these whom Lord Cromer had in mind when he pronounced the Syrians "the intellectual cream of the Near East."⁵ "The son of any laboring man may," says Dr. Leary, formerly of the Syrian Protestant College, "for all one knows, become a high Egyptian official, a wealthy merchant of the Argentine, a French poet or the pastor of an American church. The Arab dragoman of your tourist party may be the proud father of a boy whose learned works in choicest English you hope some time to read, or whose surgical skill may be called upon to carry you through a critical operation. These are not fanciful possibilities. I have particular names in mind as I write, and the tale of the

⁵ *Modern Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 218.

bravely endured hardships of some of these sons of Syria who have made good in many a far-off land would match the romantic story of Garfield or Lincoln."⁶

Culture

Though uneducated, because of lack of opportunity, the Syrians could not be said to be unintelligent or uncultured. The atmosphere in which they find themselves living is still charged with many currents of thought transmitted by word of mouth as a sacred heritage. Their every-day language is rich in proverbs and wise sayings. It overflows with pious phrases. They are usually endowed with strong memories which they utilize in remembering poems, anecdotes and gems of literature with which the Arabic abounds. Their grace of manner and courtesy, which in their case has been developed to the point of an art, add charm and picturesqueness to their simple life. Their native intelligence is on a par with that of any race. I have personally known a number of Syrians in this country who keep stores and run their business without being able to read and write. Some have had the ingenuity to devise some system of transcribing, by means of dashes and dots, which they alone can decipher. Others, as they told me, can tell which car to take by its position on the tracks or the length of its name. The noted English authority, Hogarth, has this estimate of Syrian intelligence, "There is no more enterprising, no keener intellect in the Nearer East than the Syrian of the Fringe."⁷

Moral Standards

Religious aspect.—Syrian morality borders on religion, and both have a large place in the life of the Syrians as individuals and as a group. To them it is

⁶ Lewis Gaston Leary, *Syria the Land of Lebanon*, p. 24.

⁷ D. S. Hogarth, *The Nearer East*, p. 194.

incumbent upon the person to be moral, not so much because it is expedient, or fashionable, or scientific, but because it is his religious duty. Hence the necessity of exercising great caution before undertaking to knock out the props of their religious beliefs, whatever the quality of those beliefs may be.

Social morality.—A people organized socially along the same general plan as the Syrians would naturally have their supreme virtues expressed in terms of family life. Among the Syrians the sanctity of womanhood and the inviolability of home life are held supreme. To the Christians of all denominations marriage still partakes of the sacramental nature, and divorce is practically unknown. In point of social purity they are unexcelled. The women are scrupulously guarded by the male members of the family. Early marriages are the rule, and considering the fact that in past generations they were generally arranged for by the parents, the proportion of unhappy marriages has always been amazingly small. Women gossip at the fountain ('ayn) or public bakery, and men gossip at the cafés—both an important factor in Syrian social life—act as a deterrent of flagrant scandal and make publicity the wages of sin.

The high standards of sexual morality attained by the Syrians is evidenced by the fact that not until 1861 did that most hideous of venereal diseases become widely known among them. Just as in certain islands of the Pacific the advent of the "civilized" white man brought in its wake sexual disease, so in the case of Syria the Napoleonic expedition of 1799 and the landing of French soldiers in 1861 introduced the disease that still bears the name of *habb Ifranji* (Frankish sore). The crusaders might have been responsible for introducing it into certain sections of the land.

Vices of servitude.—While in general the Syrians

stand on a high plane of morality, yet they share with all subject races certain vices of servitude. Their standards of veracity are perhaps not on a par with those of the Occidentals. In matters where the temptation for affectation or dissimulation is especially great, they are more likely to succumb. Their business probity is not considered by some as of the highest type. These generalities are subject to many modifications to be treated later. In summing up the Syrian character, Dr. Leary says: "In brief, with all his faults, which we of the West are apt to over-emphasize because they are not the same as our faults, the Syrian is frugal, temperate, ambitious, adaptable, intellectually brilliant, capable of infinite self-sacrifice for any great end, essentially religious, generously hospitable, courteous in social intercourse and to his loved ones, extremely affectionate and faithful."⁸

Housing and Recreation

The Syrian is a home loving creature. He usually spends more money for his food than for the upkeep of his home, but no matter how poor he is, he insists on owning his home and its adjoining yard. Fragrant and richly colored flowers are invariably grown by the windows and around the walks. With simple furniture, but an abundance of fresh air and natural light, his home life is plain but wholesome and harmonious. Among families of humble means the one-room house is the rule, yet it is a question as to whether the average occupants of a New York family apartment get more fresh air. In general, the Syrian home life that furnishes the background of our immigrants is primitive, picturesque and happy.^{8a}

⁸ *Syria the Land of Lebanon*, p. 25.

^{8a} This description holds true more of the pre-war conditions in Syria.

Life in Syria is essentially an outdoor life. The people love to bask in the sun and revel in the open. The genial climate and lack of economic and industrial pressure contribute their share to make such life possible.

Unlike the United States, this outdoor life does not take the form of athletics. Motor power was never an Oriental idol. It is more the sedentary and quiet form of recreation that appeals to these children of sunny Syria. "To smell the air" (*shamm al-hawa*) is their way of expressing their favorite exercise. While the advent of a visitor to a village is sometimes greeted with the sight of children indulging in some form of a hand ball game, yet it is more often the case that marble players are seen. For the adult, play is generally considered unbecoming, and in the case of women almost vulgar.

Language

Throughout the checkered history of the race two unifying forces played a most important rôle and kept it from being absorbed by the other nationalities. These are language and religion.

One of the most far reaching consequences of the conquest of the country by Islam in the seventh century was the gradual displacement of the Aramaic and Greek by the Arabic. Although the establishment of the Umayyād dynasty in Damascus (661-750) sealed the fate of Greek as the official language⁹ and gave great impetus to Arabic as the language of common parlance, yet travellers report that as late as the sixteenth century Syriac (the eastern dialect of the Aramaic language) was still in vogue in certain monasteries and isolated villages of northern Lebanon. Until this very day Syriac has survived in Ma'lūla and two neighboring villages, and in the

⁹ Philip K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, p. 301.

case of the Maronites and the Jacobites it is still the language of the ritual.¹⁰

There is no such thing, therefore, as the "Syrian" language of which we often hear in this country.

In spite of the fact that Arabic is not the indigenous language of the country, yet it should be borne in mind that the modern Syrian clings tenaciously to it, and is proud of its richness and efficacy as a medium of thought. In the whole Arabic world, including northern Africa and western Asia, it is the Syrian who exercises the leadership of thought through the use of the printed and spoken Arabic word.

III: RELIGIOUS STATUS

The cohesive and divisive powers of religion.—While language has acted wholly throughout the last ten centuries as a bond of union, religion has had divisive, as well as cohesive, effects upon the Syrians. It divided them into two main hostile camps—Christian and Muslim—and in the case of the Christians into mutually jealous communities, but within each denomination it brought the members together. "Wilt thou, O Allah," prays the Muslim, according to a folk-tale, "destroy as many Christians as eggs are boiled on Easter!" "And wilt thou, O God," says the Christian, "destroy as many Muslims as sheep are slain at Bairam!" To all this the Jew replies, "Hear, O Jehovah, the prayer of both!" Nevertheless, within the group, religion has been of great value in keeping up race feeling and consequently race continuity.

Religion a sort of nationality.—A Syrian is born to his religion, just as an American is born to his nationality. In fact, his church takes the place of the state for him. It is inconceivable to find a Syrian

¹⁰ Dr. Peter Roberts in his *Immigrant Races in North America*, pp. 72-73, thinks that the Aramaic and Syriac are still used by the people of the country.

who does not profess to be a Christian or a Muhammadan—regardless of the nature of his private belief. To him there is no choice in the matter. His faith is ready made for him and he is made for that faith.

The Syrian is intensely religious by nature. Suffice it to remember that he is the modern representative of those people who gave the world its three greatest religions. The loftiest heights in religious sentiment and expression have been attained by the Syrian people, and have never since been excelled. If taken seriously, his every-day language reveals the modern Syrian as living perpetually in the consciousness of the presence of God.¹¹ "I am going to Beirūt in the morning," said I one day. "Add *in-shallah* (if God willeth), my son," interrupted my father piously. It is noteworthy that throughout the Arabic-speaking world the form of swearing considered most profane is that which relates to religion.

A great deal of such pious phraseology is apt to be, as one would expect, conventional. In fact the chief bane of Christian life as embodied in the Christians of Syria is its formalism and the slight relation it bears to ethical living. Once certain formulæ of prayer are repeated and some ceremonies are gone through, one is labelled religious and left free, to a certain extent, to practise whatever code of ethics he chooses for his daily conduct. The Syrians are loyal to their church because of the national aspect of its character, and it, therefore, forms an integral part of the constitution of their community wherever they may be.

Existing Faiths and Churches

Since the flow of immigration into the United States was started and has ever since been almost

¹¹ Dr. Frederick Jones Bliss, *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine*, p. 4.

entirely recruited by the Christian element of Syria we shall herewith treat at greater length the Christian heritage which forms the religious background of the Syrian immigration.

The origin of all Christian Syrians can be traced back to one of two stocks: a Jacobite-Maronite stock and a Greek Orthodox one. The Greek Catholics, also called Melchites, are an offshoot of the Greek Orthodox; and the Protestants of Syria are recent converts from all three Christian communities.

Christianity in Syria developed along two lines parallel to the two types of civilization that prevailed in the country at that time: Hellenic in the cities and on the coast line, the Syrian (*Suryāni*) in the country and the mountain. Thus two distinct types of churches arose and their most important representatives to-day are the Greek Orthodox and the Maronite churches. The former still uses the Greek language in its liturgy, which is essentially the Byzantine liturgy of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil; and the latter uses Syriac in its liturgy, which is that of St. James. The Jacobites flourish in the eastern part of central Syria.

The Greek Orthodox church.—The Greek Orthodox church of Syria is a part of the Eastern Communion to which the Greeks and the Russians belong and dates back to the well-known schism of 1054. Its characteristic points of practise and belief can be summed up in the following points: the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone, baptism by triple immersion, the use of leavened bread in the mass, the communion of the people in both kinds, and the denial of indulgence and purgatory. Its clergy are allowed to marry, and at the head of the church stands the Patriarch of Antioch, who until a few years ago was always elected from the Hellenic race. The church at present is marked

by anti-Hellenic sentiment and, until the overthrow of the Czar, had leanings towards the Russian church. Its numerical strength in Syria, according to certain estimates, is 200,000.

The Maronites.—The Maronites (*Mawārinah*) constitute the largest and most compact Christian body in Syria. They number 300,000, of whom 230,000 inhabit Mt. Lebanon and form the national church of Syria.¹²

For the ancestors of the Maronites we must go back to the Gentiles and heathen to whom Paul and his fellow missionaries preached the Gospel in the first century of the Christian era. The church developed its traditions and ritual, as an Oriental institution, along its own lines, and did not come into communion with the papal see until the twelfth century and as a result of the Crusading wars in which the Maronites rallied to the succor of the Franks. The alleged founder of the church and nation was one Mārūn (St. Maro), a Syrian monk who died in the fifth century in a monastery which he is supposed to have founded on the banks of the Arontes. The first patriarch, Hanna Mārūn (St. John Maro), was elected in 685 after the Third Council of Constantinople. At present the head of the church resides in the Lebanon under the title "The Patriarch of Antioch and of all the Orient." In addition to his original name he must always bear the name "Peter."

Originally a Syrian (*Suryāni*) church in language, ritual, and doctrine, the Maronite body, after its submission to Rome in 1182, underwent many alterations in an attempt toward conformity with Latin practise and belief. The much-discussed controversy as to whether the church has always held an uninter-

¹² All these numerical estimates of the people of Syria are based on pre-war data. The inhabitants of Lebanon have been especially decimated in the last years of war, through starvation, persecution and disease. It is estimated that one-third of them thus perished.

rupted record of orthodoxy, as against its acceptance for a time in its earliest history of the Monothelite idea of the nature of Christ, gravitates around a text of the twelfth century written by William of Tyre, and has been argued pro and con by various scholars.¹³ Needless to say all modern Maronite writers claim for their church an unvaried orthodoxy. This much, however, is certain, that ever since its affiliation with Rome, the Maronite church has followed a course of adaptation, often useless and servile, to Roman usages. This appears in the administration of the sacraments as well as in the liturgy originally of the Syrian type, but now greatly disfigured to conform to the Latin type. The Maronite *savants*, mostly graduates of the Maronite College of Rome, established in 1584 by Gregory XIII, have been instrumental in effecting this adaptation. In 1736 Clement XII delegated the eminent Maronite scholar, Joseph Simeon Assemani (al-Sim'ani) to the Lw-yazah Council of the Lebanon to put the finishing touches to the Romanizing process started six centuries before.

Nevertheless the Maronites still pride themselves in the national character of their church and have preserved, to some extent, their Eastern services for baptism, marriage and burial, as well as their feast days. They celebrate the mass in Syriac, not Latin, and the Gospel is read in Arabic for the benefit of the people. Their parish priests marry while in minor orders but cannot marry a second time. Their favorite and patron saints, St. Mārūn, the alleged founder from whom their name is derived, and St. Hanna Mārūn, their first patriarch, have not yet been officially canonized by Rome.

The Greek Catholics.—A great deal of confusion exists in the public mind and in current literature as to what these Christians are. Such queer and

¹³ See *The Catholic Encyclopedia*: "Maronites."

meaningless phrases as "Orthodox Greek Catholics,"¹⁴ and "Greek or Orthodox Catholics,"¹⁵ have been freely coined and used indiscriminately.

The Greek Catholics, or Melchites, are an offshoot of the Greek Orthodox and owe allegiance to the Pope. Just as in 1595 many Ruthenians (Russniaks) were converted by Jesuit missionaries from the Greek Orthodox Church of Russia, so in the case of Syria, persistent missionary efforts, directed by the Roman propaganda against the Greek Orthodox community, resulted, in 1724, in the formation of the Greek Catholic Melchite Church. The newly organized sect retained the same interior arrangement of churches, conduct of services and ecclesiastical vestments as those used by the Greek Orthodox. Greek is likewise used in the liturgy, and to emphasize the mystery of the mass, the sanctuary and the altar are screened by the *ikonostasis*.

Like the Maronites, the Greek Catholics are erroneously termed in the United States *Roman Catholic*. In fact they are a Uniat Eastern church; and strictly speaking there is no such thing as Roman Catholics among the Syrians. The few Roman Catholic congregations founded by members from abroad are known as the "Latin Church."

The Protestants.—The Roman Church adopted the Maronite body *in toto*, and failing to take the whole Greek Orthodox Church into its fold, it yet bit off such a large slice as to include priests and bishops and thus form a strong religious community. That is the Greek Catholic or Melchite community. Not such were the tactics used by the Protestant missionaries. Their converts were won by the individual from Greek Orthodox, Maronite, and Greek Catholic

¹⁴ Used in the *Reports of the Industrial Commission on Immigration*, Vol. 15, p. 442. William I. Cole in his *Immigrant Races in Massachusetts. The Syrians*, p. 5, uses "Orthodox Greek Catholics."

¹⁵ Used by *The Literary Digest*, May 3, 1919.

communities, and do not number at present, and after a work of a century, more than 3,000 communicants or 10,000 souls. Of the foreign missionary Protestant societies, the American Board was the first to operate in Syria. In 1921 the Board celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the landing of Levi Parsons in Jaffa.

In the course of the past century, a number of Protestant missions, English and American, have found their way into Syria. At present the Church Missionary Society of London occupies Palestine as its special field, and the Presbyterian Board of the United States of America the rest of Syria.¹⁶

The efforts of the missionaries have culminated in the formation of a new sect—the Protestant—formed and entirely recruited by converts from the three Christian churches of Syria, and particularly from the Greek Orthodox Church.^{16a} Instead of maintaining their connection with the mother churches and endeavoring to quicken and vitalize, rather revivify, them by grafting new and modern ideas on their body as a whole and by shifting the emphasis from formalism to ethical living, the new converts severed themselves from the old and venerable Oriental churches, weakening them to that extent, and created a new and rival Christian Church which is no longer increasing through the addition of any large number of new adherents. Instead of being a process in grafting, the new process turned out to be a modified form of pruning. It is only fair, however, to state, in this connection, that some of the finest Syrian scholars of the last fifty years have been members of the Syrian Protestant church.

Not only have missionary efforts been limited to people who have already from time immemorial been

¹⁶ For a statement of the missionary activities in Syria consult Julius Richter, *History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*.

^{16a} Their original plan of working among Moslem peoples was frustrated.

Christian, but many of the converts were "converted" because of convenience rather than conviction. The economic advantages, and the educational facilities, held before them and before their children, acted in many cases as the strongest inducement. In the case of the Syrians, religion, as we have seen, is not a matter of intellectual persuasion, and I have personally known many individuals, and even villages, who, in order "to spite" a bishop or a chief, turned Protestant—at least for a limited period of time.

The Muhammadans.—Of the Muslim sects in Syria, the orthodox Sunni and the Shi'ite Matāwilah (followers of 'Ali) are too well known to admit of a special treatment here. But the Druzes and the Nusayriyyah, followers of two religions of secrecy and mystery, both of which are heretical offshoots of Islam, are entitled to special consideration.

The Druzes.—These are the remnant of some pre-Islamic people who sought refuge in the southern part of the Syrian mountains, and have always retained a certain degree of independence and primitive religion. Their name is derived from one Darazi, a leading missionary of the Bātiniyyah section of the Isma'iliyyah, who encouraged in his pretensions to divinity, al-Hākim, the mentally unbalanced Sixth Fatimite Caliph who ruled in Egypt in 996-1020. According to Druze "theology," this mad Caliph was the last incarnation of the Deity. He represented God in his unity, hence the name favorite among them *Muwahhidūn* (unitarians). To them, al-Hākim is not dead but is hidden in some state of occultation and one day will appear in accordance with the Mahdist idea. The new religion was introduced by Darazi and Hamzi first to Wadi al-Taym at the foot of Mt. Hermon whence it spread to the Lebanon and thence to Haurān. Its present adherents number about 150,000.

In its learned form, the Druze religion is an esoteric system known only to the initiated few called '*Ukkāl* (the enlightened). To the '*Ukkāl*, smoking and drinking are taboo (*muharram*), and they alone, as distinct from the *Juhhāl* (ignorant, uninitiated) can attend the religious meetings held in the night of Thursday to Friday in some secluded place, *khalwah* (place of retirement), upon a hilltop. Polygamy is not allowed among the Druzes,¹⁷ but divorce is easy and uncereemonious. A heathen belief, which still persists as a legacy from pre-Muhammadan days, is that of metempsychosis, according to which the pious are born again, probably in China, and the impious return in the bodies of animals. Although Muhammadanism constitutes only a thin veneer over this strange religion, with its pagan survivals, yet it is a Druze tenet to claim to be Muhammadan, and they have been always so classified by the Turkish Government.

The Nusayriyyah.—Other details of heathen worship and belief still persist among the Nusayriyyah in the fastnesses of the mountains north of the Lebanon.^{17a} The name is probably derived from Muhammad ibn-Nusayr, and Isma'ili follower of the eleventh *imām* of the Shi'ites, who lived at the end of the ninth century. The Assassins who struck terror and awe into the ranks of the Crusaders are close of kin to these Nusayriyyah. There are to-day about 140,000 of them. As set forth in their sacred book, *al-Majmū'*, their religion seems to be a syncretism of Isma'ili doctrine and the ancient heathenism of Haurān.

Similar to its Druze cousin, the Nusayriyyah religion, in its learned form, is restricted to the in-

¹⁷ In its article on the Druzes *The Encyclopædia of Islam* erroneously states that polygamy is allowed.

^{17a} Their district has recently been organized under the French Mandate into a separate state called the 'Alawl State, with Lādhikiyah as capital.

initiated who must be adults and of Nusayri parentage. Belief in metempsychosis is also wide-spread. The good takes his place among the stars, but the wicked undergoes inferior transformation.

Forms of Religious Break-Up

Aside from the organization of the Protestant sect in Syria, there is hardly any form of break-up worthy of mention. The constituency of the churches is so fossilized, and the conception of church membership as a social, or rather group affair, is so entrenched in the popular mind that no realignment could be achieved with any degree of facility or ease. Bahaism, which masquerades in this country under the guise of a social philosophy of brotherhood rather than a new sect, and which, by the way, has been introduced into the United States and propagated in it by Syrian missionaries, has not made the least indentation on the Christian communities—and for that matter on the Muslim communities—in spite of the fact that it has its headquarters on Syrian soil. By the Syrians it is considered a schismatic Muslim sect.

The Syrian Christian churches seem to have developed a sort of immunity against the appeal of Islam. Having survived its persecutions, as much as its allurements, for the last millennium and a quarter, these descendants of the earliest Christians of Syria and the Lebanon promise to keep on forever passing the torch of Christianity down to posterity.

Materialism

Materialism, atheism, skepticism and all other forms of "ism" that usually infest the religious life of a people have hardly a foothold in the minds of the Syrian Christians. Such views are often the

concomitants of intellectual gymnastics in which the Syrians rarely indulge. Of them it can be truly said, "once born a Christian, a Christian for all time."

Besides, the Syrian is highly idealistic by nature. To a fault he is imaginative and visionary. A typical Syrian standing on the shore of the body of water separating Manhattan from Brooklyn would instinctively sing a song, whereas a Yankee would think of building a bridge; and if near Niagara Falls, the former would be tempted to write a poem, and the latter to harness the power and utilize it.

Outlook for the Future

The Christians of Western Asia are an island in the sea of Islam and, at best, their position is precarious as has been clearly demonstrated in recent times in the case of the Armenians and Nestorians. What the future may have in store for the Syrian Christians is hard to foretell, but one thing is safe to infer that, as in the past, so in the future, they shall continue to hold their own. In course of time, and with the ever-increasing impact of the West on the East, the Maronites and the Greek Catholics will become more and more amalgamated with the Roman Catholic Church, while the Greek Orthodox will draw nearer to the Episcopal Church, but the possibility of either of these Oriental churches losing its identity is not yet in sight, not even with the greatest stretch of imagination. On the other hand, the Druzes and the Nusayriyyah may, in course of time, conform to the orthodox tenets of Islam, but it will be years, or perhaps centuries, before they are fully absorbed.

IV: ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Means of livelihood.—Syria is to-day, as of old, primarily an agricultural and pastoral, and second-

arily, a mercantile country. By reason of its varied climate from the semi-tropical temperature of the coast-line to the temperate zone of the vast plains of Haurān, Hamah and al-Bukā, the land is admirably adapted for the cultivation of most of the products of the earth. Chief among these products are grapes and wine, olives and olive oil, silk, wheat, and oranges. The rocky hillsides support flocks of sheep and goats which furnish wool for clothing, milk, cheese and meat for food.

Stage of development in agriculture.—Nevertheless the produce of the land and the yield of its animal husbandry little more than suffice for the support of a scanty population. The means of mere subsistence, and the necessities of life, are within the easy reach of all, but the possibilities of laying up money are scant. The reason is not far to seek. All operations of husbandry are yet performed in the most primitive manner, and the bulk of the tilling is done either by means of heavy iron hoes, wielded by hand, or by antedeluvian wooden ploughs roughly shod with iron and drawn by diminutive cows. This superficial cultivation of the soil, the lack of scientific knowledge to combat the diseases that beset crops and animals, together with the onerous taxation, illegal exactions (of the Turkish régime), and excessive usury, conspire to prevent the native farmer from reaping anything beyond a miserable pittance from his soil.

Stage of development in industry.—Unless the agricultural resources of a country are supplemented by a well developed manufacturing industry, the required degree of prosperity is not insured. In the case of Syria, industry, in the modern sense of the term, is sadly lacking. Whatever industry there is is hand industry. The land is poorly supplied with minerals and the deficiency in coal is not compensated for by any abundance of water supply.

The necessity for the exchange of commodities within the country is obviated by the fact that almost every community is self-sufficient, each producing virtually what every other community produces. This general state of affairs is accentuated by the difficulties of travel and transportation.

Standards of living and wages.—Under such conditions the standards of living could not be high. While almost everybody could earn a scant subsistence, yet only few could amass wealth or enjoy the higher things of life. In the nineties, the daily wages of a farm laborer did not exceed six piasters (about twenty-five cents), and those of an employed ploughman, with a pair of oxen, twenty piasters. Bread, which in Syria is indeed the staff of life, was comparatively cheap, as were vegetables and meat; and one could have an ordinary meal for five cents. Many silk factory workers and farm laborers in the Lebanon lived, or rather existed, on bread, olives, and cooked figs. Of these the olives and figs were almost always raised in their own orchards.

Mercantile activities.—Although Syria is not rich in exportable trade, yet the Syrians have ever since the Phœnician time shown marked mercantile proclivities. Under the Greeks and the Romans, during the commercial supremacy of Venice and Genoa, and down to modern times, they acted literally as the carriers of trade between the Occident and the Orient. In the days of Ezekiel who declared, "Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of thy handiwork,"¹⁸ as well as throughout all later ages, the Syrians have always been the merchants of the Levant.

¹⁸ Ez. xxvii:16.

Chapter II

EMIGRATION

I: HISTORY AND EXTENT

The Syrians discovered America in the latter part of the seventies, but the first Syrian to enter the United States was a Lebanese, Antonius al-Bishallany, who landed in Boston in 1854. The thrilling story of this Syrian youth, which has been written by Charles Whitehead and done into Arabic by the author,¹ sounds more like a drama than a real story. On his tombstone, still standing in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, the following epitaph occurs under the figures of a lion, a serpent and a lamb, "designed to represent his fearlessness, wisdom and blamelessness":

ANTONIO BISHALLANY
BORN NEAR BEIRUT, SYRIA
AUGUST 22, 1827.

DIED IN NEW YORK, AUGUST 22, 1856.

EDUCATED A MARONITE CATHOLIC, HE FOUND,
AFTER LONG AND EARNEST EXAMINATION AMID
TRIALS AND DANGERS, THAT THE SCRIPTURES
HAVE THE WORDS OF ETERNAL LIFE.

OBEDIENT TO THE COMMAND OFTEN UPON
HIS LIPS, 'FREELY YE HAVE RECEIVED, FREELY
GIVE,' HE CAME TO AMERICA TO PREPARE FOR
MISSIONARY LABOR, AND STUDIED WITH UNABATED ZEAL.

¹ Philip K. Hitti, *Antonius al-Bishallany, Awwal Muhājir Suri ʿilā al-ʿAlam al-Jadīd*, N. Y., 1919.

BUT GOD SENT DISEASE TO CALL HIM HOME.
HIS MANY FRIENDS REGARD HIM AS A MAN WHO
KNEW NO FEAR, BLAMELESS BEYOND REPROACH,
AND SINGULARLY WISE TO OVERTHROW ERROR
AND UPHOLD TRUTH
READER, WILL YOU MEET HIM IN HEAVEN?

The first Syrian family to enter the United States was that of Joseph Arbeely of Damascus which arrived in 1878. In the early eighties, a considerable emigration occurred with Zahleh as its source. Between 1885 and the year of the Chicago exposition, the flow of emigration was augmented to such an extent that it spread itself all over the country east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio River, and found its way into the Pacific coast without intermediate stay. But the movement did not assume large proportions until the early nineties, the Columbian Exposition of 1893 constituting the first general bugle call to the land of opportunity. The exposition is known to have attracted especially traders from Jerusalem and Ramallah who brought with them olive wood articles and other curios. Once started the wave was never checked. The Lebanon furnished the pioneer migrants and the bulk of later emigration, but all portions of Syria and Palestine contributed to the westward-flowing stream, even Beit-Lahm (Bethlehem) and Nazareth adding their quota. Hardly a village or town in all Syria is not to-day represented by one or more emigrants in the United States.

II: CAUSES

Economic—The primary impulse for Syrian emigration can be traced back, in the main, to economic causes. A country with inhospitable soil, as is the case with Lebanon, with a scarcity of mineral wealth, and with no industrial development is always threat-

ened with over-population. This is particularly true if the methods of cultivation are primitive, and the people prolific. A temporary drought or occasional failure of crops is enough to force the surplus to seek elbow room in other than its land. Although in Syria peasant proprietorship prevails, yet the holdings are usually so small and the taxes so high that even in productive years the struggle for physical existence is a hard one.

The topography of the country, as we have previously observed, discouraged commercial intercourse and created a limited market. On the other hand, the bordering sea invited the adventurous and beckoned to the ambitious to seek new outlets for their activities in pursuit of happiness and wealth. Succinctly stated, Syria has always been an inhospitable place to live in and a splendid place to leave. This provides the general economic background of Syrian emigration, but the particular causes should be sought at a closer range.

New trade routes and silk.—The country was in the grip of a feudal system until the Civil Wars of 1860. The strife between the Druzes and the Christians drove away many Christian refugees to Egypt, on their first hop America-ward. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 sidetracked the world traffic from Syria and gave the Syrian traders a staggering blow. In the meantime it created new and easy means of communication between the Occident and Orient and hurled against the wide shores of the Mediterranean Sea new products and new forces. After the opening of this short cut with the Far East, silk—the staple product of Syrian export—began to feel a strong competitor in the Japanese silk for the French market, and its price began to fall. Syria then began to present the spectacle of an agrarian economy of the primitive type dislocated by the competition of modern industry.

The consular reports of this period are the best index to the state of economic unrest in the country. Many attempts, according to these reports, were made by Syrian firms to establish direct connection with American silk merchants but to no avail. In 1889 Consul Bissinger of Beirūt reported 5,626,697 pounds of cocoons produced, constituting a deficit of 25% on the average product. In the same report the following words occur: "As has already been stated in previous reports, there are many respectable firms here of approved commercial probity and ample resources who are most anxious to make a direct beginning with the United States." As late as 1897 Consul Doyle of Beirūt reported, "Heretofore, the [silk] trade has been in the hands of the French manufacturers, but at the price now paid, there is left no profit for the native producer."

In his report of 1886, Consul Bissinger makes reference to the onerous method of *Takhmis* instituted by the Turks which practically doubled the tithe system of taxation.

In the early nineties, the phylloxera began to invade the vineyards, thus adding its share to the misery of the farmer. Before this and the other evils that ordinarily beset the animals and plants, the *fellaheen*, with no knowledge of applied science, stood helpless.

The coincidence of these facts regarding the silk and wine industry with the phenomenon that at about this time the Syrian exodus began to assume significant proportions leaves no doubt as to the existence of a cause and effect relationship.

Political causes.—While Syrian emigration is attributable primarily to economic causes, yet it cannot be wholly explained on that ground. The movement is the resultant of a combination of political and religious forces as well.

Under the alien yoke of the Turks, the Syrians

were subjected to numerous restrictions and often to active measures of persecution. Four long centuries of oppression were evidently not enough to obliterate their yearning for freedom. Failing to enjoy it in their native land, many of them sought it abroad. It is a significant fact that the picture of the first Syrian family in this country, that of Ar-beely, was taken with a placard on which this legend is inscribed: *Ha ana wa-l-awlad sa'idna bi-l-hurri'yyah*,² "THE CHILDREN AND I HAVE HAPPILY FOUND LIBERTY."

In fact the bulk of the Syrian migrants look upon this as the chief cause of their emigration. Hardly a Syrian writer in English or Arabic, in discussing emigration, fails to refer to this desire of the Syrian to live his life free and unhampered from political restraints as the chief motive for his coming into the United States.³ The Syrian papers in this country have been practically unanimous in their anti-Turkish policy, and a glance through their files reveals that more emphasis is laid on the political than the economic cause. At times twenty or more Syrians lived in New York City alone, who were under sentence of death by the Turkish court. "Of course we all know," writes a Syrian physician in Akron, Ohio, in his reply to a questionnaire, "that love of liberty was the chief cause of Syrian migration."

Closely allied with this political cause is the desire to escape military duty to which the Muslims always have been amenable and the Christians only after the constitution of 1909. A number of the Muslims are here because of that. A Haifa (Syria) correspondent to the *New York Sun* of March 9, 1913,

² Louise Seymour Houghton in *The Survey*, July 1, 1911.

³ Cf. Norman Duncan, "A People from the East" in *Harper's Monthly*, March, 1903; and "Syrians in the United States," in *The Literary Digest*, May 3, 1919.

writes: "Every steamer bound for North or South America has been crowded, mostly with Christians anxious to evade military draft."

Religious causes.—The fact that most Syrian immigrants are Christian, whereas in Syria most Syrians are Muhammadan, seems to indicate that the religious situation has been a factor in their emigration. The religious disability under which Christian Syrians labor as a minority does not wholly explain the preponderance of Christian emigrants, for the Christians are generally more progressive and less attached to the soil. The Christians there have never been entirely free from restrictions placed upon them because of their belief. In the mind of the Syrian writers in this country, this factor, next to the political, seems to take precedence over the economic factor as a cause of emigration.

The might of the pen.—Co-operating with these general economic, political and religious causes are, of course, many special causes of an auxiliary character. First among these is the advice and assistance of former emigrant relatives or friends through the medium of the letter and by word of mouth in case of their return. Once Syrian migration started, the pen of the emigrant became mightier than the sword of the persecutor in swelling the tide. The immigrant nucleus formed in this country served as a center of attraction to relatives and friends—a force which increased in direct and multiple proportion to the growth of immigration.

The fabulous stories recorded in the epistles of the emigrants regarding the volume of wealth in the United States and the facility with which it can be acquired spread like wildfire. The fever was not abated but rather increased as fresh recruits made their way into the westward marching parade.

Returned emigrants.—"While I was at school,"

writes Rev. Abraham M. Rihbany,⁴ I heard much about America. I studied its geography, heard of its liberator, Washington. . . . But more exciting tales about America came to me through returning Syrian emigrants. Most of them being common laborers knew, of course, very little of the real life of America. They spoke of its wealth and how accessible it was, and told how they themselves secured more money in America in a few years than could be earned in Syria in two generations."

The sight of a *Franji* (European) dressed Syrian in the interior of the country was often enough to label him as having been to America. In the summer of 1911, I travelled on foot with a number of college mates through southern Lebanon, and in almost every village became the center of a circle of inquirers whose first question was as to whether we were in "Nayurk," and if so whether we had met their relatives in San Francisco or in Buenos Aires.

The returned Syrian Americans idealized the social and political life of the United States. They lavished their best epithets upon the character of the people and the nature of their institutions. In marked contrast to the recently returned Russian emigrants, the Syrians almost always spread propaganda favorable to the United States. The King-Crane report on the Near East just published for the first time emphasizes this point.

Even when the early emigrants did not return themselves, they insisted on sending back their earnings to the old country and investing them in large and conspicuous red-roofed houses each one of which acted as a mute and perpetual advertisement for the United States. In a report made by a correspondent, who accompanied a sub-committee of the United States Immigration Commission on its visit to Turkey in 1907, the following statement oc-

⁴ *A Far Journey*, pp. 143-144.

curs; "They [Syrian immigrants] send more money per capita than the immigrants of any other nationality. Between Beirût and Damascus one sees more houses built with American money than one sees in a trip in South Italy five times as long."

The extent to which this emigration from Syria has been in this way assisted or induced is indicated by the fact that of the 9,188 immigrants admitted to the United States in the fiscal years 1908 and 1909, 8,725, or 95%, declared that they were coming to join relatives and friends.⁵

Money lenders and steamship agents.—Next to the assistance of friends in the list of contributory causes the money lenders and steamship ticket agents have been a great agency in perpetuating and extending the movement. This factor can hardly be said to have caused but only to have stimulated and facilitated emigration. The sight of a well-groomed agent on donkey back visiting one village after the other has been more or less a familiar sight in the interior of the country.

The extent of the influence of this hunt for emigrants by steamship agents and by interested employers in the United States, has, it is safe to assert, been almost insignificant compared with other Mediterranean countries. The contract labor system, kin to the "padrone" system introduced by the Italians in connection with railroad labor and utilized by the Greeks in the shoe-shining industry, is unknown among the Syrians. Nor does a diligent search in the records reveal any trace of the "peonage" system, in which the immigrant is practically in a status of compulsory service based upon his indebtedness, as a peon, to the master who advanced his fare.

Indirect influence of missionaries.—The rôle

⁵ *Reports of the Immigration Commission, Senate Documents, Vol. 12, p. 59.*

played by American and English missionaries and tourists should not be ignored. American missionary effort was not responsible for causing emigration, but for diverting to these shores so large a portion of this stream of dissatisfied Turkish subjects. And this it did unconsciously and indirectly. English speaking teachers and preachers never did encourage, but always discouraged, departure from the country, but by teaching English and acquainting the people with the geography, history, and methods of life in the United States, they made it easier for them to come here in preference to some other places in South America. In an interview reported by the editor of *The Independent*⁶ a very well-known local Syrian said, "The teacher [in an American mission school] had a great many pictures of American cities, streets, and scenes, and I could see that life in that land was very different from ours. I heard about the telephone, telegraph and railroad, and as I already knew about ships on account of seeing them go by on the water, it began to dawn on me that there was a very great and active land outside of Mt. Lebanon and that it might be possible to find something better to do than be a monk."

The tourists.—With their manifestations of munificent wealth, the hundreds of American travellers and tourists who annually poured into the Holy Land acted as an object lesson before the eyes of the people demonstrating the riches of the United States and the generosity of its people. Immediately after landing in Boston, al-Bishallany, the first Syrian immigrant, hastened to New York where he had many friends "with whom he had formed an acquaintance in Syria"⁷ in his capacity as tourists' dragoman.

⁶ April 30, 1903, p. 1009.

⁷ Charles Whitehead, *Antonio Bishallany*, p. 80.

Summary of causes.—In brief the repellent forces that determined Syrian emigration are primarily economic and partially political and religious, to which should be added a number of auxiliary forces. The attractive forces have largely centered in the United States. On the subjective side, it might be said that a desire to better one's condition materially and socially has provided the chief motive.

III: CHARACTER

Syrians incurable emigrants and traders.—A distinctive feature of the Syrian emigration into the United States is the fact that it is a part of an age-long movement, a chapter in a long series of migrations, and not an independent episode by itself. The Phœnician colonists were the first Syrian emigrants. In the Hellenic epoch, the Syrians had themselves established in the commercial centers of Greece and notably at Delos. After the founding of the Roman Empire, the *Syri Negotiatores* undertook a veritable colonization of the Latin provinces and concentrated in their hands the entire traffic of the Levant.⁸ They populated with their colonies not only the shores of the Mediterranean, the Danube, the Rhone and the Gironde, but the distant interior of Panonia, Dacia, Spain and Gaul, which last province they did much to develop commercially.⁹ Even the later invasion of the Barbarians proved impotent to dampen their spirit of enterprise. Under the Merovingians we find them monopolizing the importing of the valuable Levantine commodities and articles of luxury. The "Atti del Notaio Giovanni"¹⁰ reveals the Syrian merchants in Genoa as the leading traders between

⁸ Franz Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 61; *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, p. 107.

⁹ E. S. Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province*, Chap. VII.

¹⁰ *Historiæ Patriæ Monumenta*, Vol. VI. Cf. Eugene H. Byrne,

the Orient and the Occident through the latter part of the twelfth century.

Profiting by the special aptitudes of their race and prompted by the wanderlust and the desire for profitable trade, the modern Syrians have carried their mercantile activity into almost all the maritime cities of Europe and the New World. Business is their lodestar and in pursuit of it they never hesitate to penetrate the most remote parts of the globe. No nook of the world escapes them, and neither Alaska, Canada, Latin America, the Philippines, or Australia is foreign to their enterprise. In the time of St. Jerome as well as in our day "their ambition and love of lucrative trade carry them to the ends of the world."

Political and religious aspects.—Another characteristic of the Syrian movement to the United States is that unlike most other movements, it is not wholly an economic one. The rejective forces of governmental oppression and religious persecution have had their share in the responsibility for it. In this it partakes of the same characteristic as the Jewish movement.

A family movement.—In its early history the movement was entirely a male movement. The males were usually in the prime of youth and represented the lower strata of society. The better class of Syrians have always been attracted by Egypt where they find in the public service and in private enterprise a better field for their best ability. The ideal of the first immigrants to the United States was to amass all the wealth possible in the shortest time and then return to Syria to enjoy it in peace and quietude. Some of the late comers still labor under this illusion, which, in the judgment of an intelligent Syrian editor and

"Easterners in Genoa," *Journal American Oriental Society*, June, 1918.

publisher, has wrought more harm to the Syrians in this country than any other evil from which they suffered. If all the Syrians had come with the we-have-come-here-to-stay idea, their lot would have been undoubtedly different.

Before long, however, the economic value of the woman was discovered. The nature of the work in which the early Syrians engaged—peddling notions, laces, and under-garments—lent itself more easily to women workers who had freer access to homes. No sooner had the Syrian discovered that in the United States woman was an asset rather than a liability than he began to bring over his women folks. It then became apparent that once in the United States, he was in the United States for good.

The total Syrian immigration to this country for the twelve years, 1899-1910 was 56,909 of whom 38,635 (67.9%) were male, and 18,274 were female, giving the female a percentage of 32.1. For the same period, the female percentage of the Armenian immigrants was 23.5, of the Bulgarian and Serbian 4.3, of the Greek 4.9, of the Spanish 17.2; and the average female percentage of the total immigrants of all races was 30.5.¹¹ From this it can be readily seen that the Syrian movement has been, in its later development, a family movement destined to take, in this country, a permanent abode.

The percentage of Syrian females would have been still higher had it not been for the fact that the 1,000 Syrian Druzes in this country brought with them only about a dozen women; and the 8,000 Muhammadans, about twice that number.

IV: PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

As inviting emigration from the United States.—
In 1918 as the tide of battle began to turn in favor

¹¹ *Reports of Immigration Commission*, Vol. I, p. 97.

of the Allied Powers and the lure of freedom and self-determination began to loom high in the sight of the submerged nationalities of the Old World, it began to dawn upon some of the Syrians in the United States that, after all, the day was coming for their return to their newly resurrected land. Halt was called on many a long-cherished dream, for starting a new business or expending an old one, or buying a family home. But before long disappointment began to cloud the new hope. It was soon discovered that for a country whose resources have been almost exhausted by four years of merciless warfare and whose manhood has been practically depleted, it will be many years, not months, before its condition reverts to the normal.

According to the treaties subsequent to the cessation of hostilities, France was entrusted with the mandate over Syria including Lebanon, Great Britain was given the mandate over Palestine, and Transjordan was made into a new Arab state. The Mandatory Powers have fully insured public safety throughout the lands and provided ample protection against possible invasions from outside. But the shore of the Eastern Mediterranean Sea once more became the stage over which the old European intrigues and rivalries began to enact their tragic drama. The means of communication between these states and Kemalist Asia Minor were cut off, and the economic life of Syria was put in jeopardy.

The Syrians here and abroad are by no means of one accord as to things political. There are those among them, mainly Muhammadan and Druze, who would like to see a Turkish régime re-established, or who aspire for a virtual union with al-Hijāz and Mesopotamia in a pan-Arab empire. Others, chiefly Christian, stand for an independent

Syria, with an independent Lebanon, under the French mandate.

Many of the Syrian Americans who had planned to return home have since changed their mind, and the few who did return are already coming back. Some are going to Syria, but only to settle their business there, sell their property and bring the rest of their families.

As inviting unrest in America.—The dissatisfaction of the Syrian people at home is having its echo of discontent among the Syrians in the United States. In order to give expression to these political views and aspirations, a number of their organizations have recently sprung up like mushrooms in the Syrian colonies in this country and added confusion to an already confused community. But neither the confusion nor the unrest can be said to be such as to cause alarm.

V: OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE IMMIGRATION

The same forces of political dissatisfaction and unrest which deter the Syrians in America from returning to Syria are at work causing the people of Syria to leave it. They are further complicated by the fact that the country is still in a state of economic chaos with the cost of living soaring high and the means of livelihood insufficient to cope with the situation.

The correspondent of *al-Basir* (Cairo) writing from Beirūt, April 4, 1920, uses the following language, which still applies to the present situation, "The stream of emigration to lands beyond the seas and the New World is continuous and unchecked. Every ship carries its full quota. The local government is contemplating plans for checking the tide by persuasion, but there seems to be little hope unless the means of livelihood through

commerce, industry and agriculture are rendered abundant and unless public safety is assured. Otherwise, and at this rate, emigration shall prove a general disaster extinguishing the little that is left in the life of this country."

According to recent legislation passed by the United States Senate, 925 Syrians, or 3% of those who were born in Syria and who were in the United States in 1910, could be admitted per year into the United States. The quota is distributed over five months beginning in July and ending in November of each year. Special preference is given to applicants whose immediate relatives are naturalized citizens of the United States.

Chapter III

IN AMERICA

I: IMMIGRATION

Distribution and location.—The number of Syrians in the United States is at best conjectural. Before 1899 the Syrians, as such, did not exist for the United States immigration authorities, having been hitherto classified with Armenians, Greeks, Arabs and Turks under "Turkey in Asia"; and officially to the Turkish government, emigration to America did never exist, since it was strictly prohibited and all emigrants left for "Egypt" as their destination.

The estimates vary from 60,000 by Dr. Roberts,¹ to 40,000 by *The Literary Digest*.² The United States thirteenth census (1910) reduces the figures of the foreign stock speaking "Syrian and Arabic" to the ludicrous number of 46,727.³

From the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration it appears that 89,971 Syrian "immigrants" entered the United States between 1899 and 1919 as follows: ⁴

1899	3,708
1900	2,920
1901	4,064

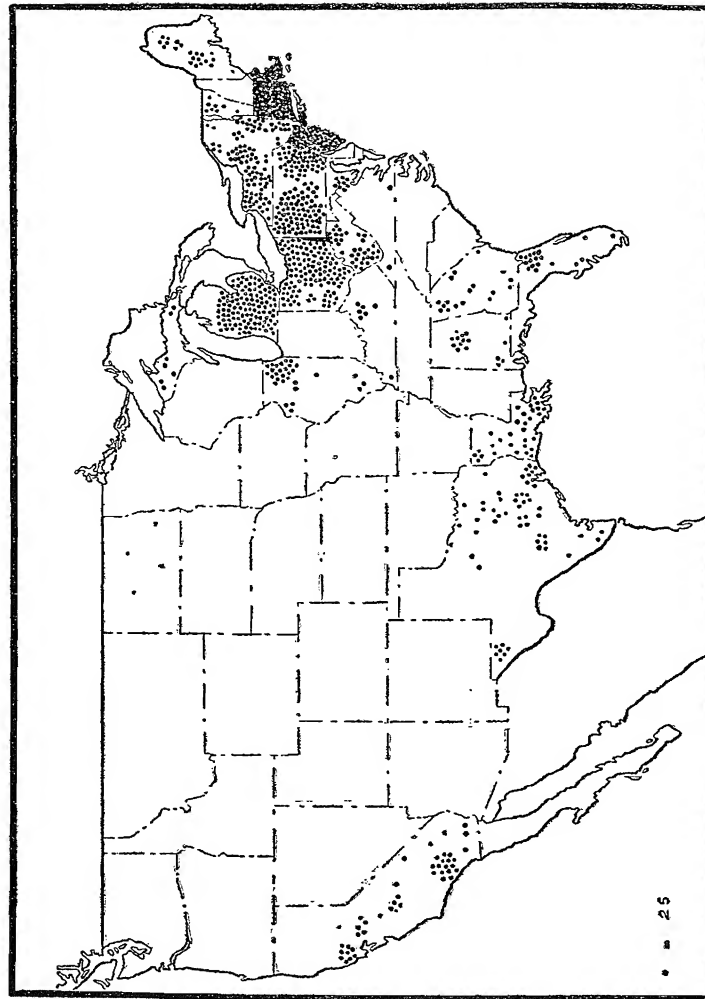
¹ Peter Roberts, *Immigrant Races in North America*, p. 74.

² "Syrians in the United States," May 3, 1919.

³ *Thirteenth Census Reports*, Vol. I, pp. 1006 and 1015.

⁴ *Annual Report Commissioner General Immigration*, 1919, p. 168.





MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF SYRIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

1902	4,982
1903	5,551
1904	3,653
1905	4,822
1906	5,824
1907	5,880
1908	5,520
1909	3,668
1910	6,317
1911	5,444
1912	5,525
1913	9,210
1914	9,023
1915	1,767
1916	676
1917	976
1918	210
1919	231
<hr/>	
TOTAL	89,971

Considering those who entered during the twenty years previous to that, and those who were born here from Syrian parents, and making allowance for those who returned to Syria or died, it is safe to assume that there are at present about 200,000 Syrians, foreign born and born of Syrian parents, in the United States.^{4a} They were accorded the 25th place among the thirty-nine nationalities recognized by the Bureau of Immigration and graded on the basis of statistics for the twelve years ended June 30, 1910. The number of those who sought entry and were debarred, mainly because of trachoma, is considerable. But that in many cases injustice was done is illustrated by the story of the two Syrian

^{4a} According to the U. S. Census of 1920, there are in the United State 49,114 Syrians and Palestinians above 21 years of age born in Syria and now living in the United States.

boys, with "trachoma," admitted by President Roosevelt and told by Senator Hoar in his autobiography.⁵ The Ellis Island authorities ruled that the mother might land to join her husband in Worcester, Mass., but the children must be sent back in the ship upon which they arrived. Senator Hoar telegraphed to President Roosevelt to interpose his authority "to prevent an outrage which will dishonor the country and create a foul blot on the American flag." Half an hour from the receipt of the dispatch, Roosevelt sent a peremptory order to New York to let the children come in. Later on, while Roosevelt was visiting Worcester, the two children, whose disorder of the eyes turned out not to be contagious at all, but only caused by the glare of the water and the hardships of the voyage, were presented to him.

An idea of the dread of those debarred may be gained from the story of the fourteen-year-old lad who, arm broken and clad in clothes double his size, paddled along from Ellis Island to the New Jersey shore, and risked his life for liberty.⁶

Life in colonies.—The tendency, so natural among immigrants, to group themselves in colonies, does not prevail among the Syrians to anything like the degree generally supposed. The only cities in which they can be said to maintain colonies are New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Lawrence, Fall River, Pittsburgh, and, west of the Mississippi, St. Louis.

The New York colony in Washington Street is the mother colony. Most of the Syrians are ushered into America through it, and many return to it after making good somewhere in the interior. It has been called "Little Syria" in which Syrian life is

⁵ George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, Vol. II, pp. 296-299.

⁶ *New York World*, September 9, 1914.

reproduced with the utmost fidelity. In reality it is old Syria in the New World, but much perplexed. It is far from being for the Syrians what "Little Sicily" is for the Italians, the ghetto for the Russian Jews, and Chinatown for the Chinese. Hemmed in between Broadway and the Hudson River, and between Liberty Street and Battery Park, in the back yard of Wall Street, it is being gradually crowded out of existence. The skyscrapers are invading it on all sides and its denizens are seeking new quarters in Brooklyn and elsewhere.

The cities in which Syrians abound are:

New York	7,760 ^{6a}	Paterson, N. J. . .	1,252
Detroit	3,858	St. Louis	987
Boston	3,150	Fall River, Mass.	971
Chicago	1,672	Philadelphia	914
Worcester, Mass. .	1,448	Akron	883
Cleveland	1,440	San Francisco ...	773
Pittsburgh	1,406	Springfield, Mass.	696

The states with the largest number are: New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, New Jersey, Texas, California, Illinois, Connecticut, West Virginia and Rhode Island. But there is not a state in the Union, and hardly a town of 5,000 population or over, in which they are not represented. The *Reports of the Immigration commission*⁷ for the years 1899 to 1910 show that the 56,909 Syrians admitted gave for destination every state in the Union, without a single exception, and in addition Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico. New York State was favored by the largest number, 18,370, and Delaware by the smallest, 5.

^{6a} Fourteenth Census Report (1920), See Vol. II, Chap. X, p. 1009. Total number of Syrians and Arabians, 104,139. According to the 1920 census there are in New York State 6,986 Syrians of voting age, of whom 1,767 are naturalized.

⁷ Vol. I, pp. 106-109.

Because of the nature of their work, trade, and owing to a peculiar psychological trait, Syrians do not congregate in colonies. Whether peddlers, or dealers in lace, kimono, and underwear, they must keep close to American home life. In Xenia, Ohio, I came across a Syrian family which has lived there for the last dozen years without attracting another single Syrian. When asking someone in Lafayette, Ind., who said he had been there by himself since 1890 and with his family since 1908, as to whether there were other Syrians in town, the sharp reply came back, "No, *al-hamd-li-Allah!* [Thank Goodness!]"

Migrations in the United States

When the Syrian begins to emigrate, no part of the world is too remote for him; but once settled, he appears to be stationary.

Men without families.—In all communities there is always a certain element of "floating" population. Like birds of passage, or nomads of the desert, these men, usually unattached to families and non-professional, make their transit from one place to another in quest of livelihood. During the war many of them flocked to the industrial centers whose plants were turned into munition factories. Waterbury, Bridgeport, and especially Cleveland and Detroit, became the Meccas of this class.

Family groups.—In recent years a number of families from the Middle West have made their way southward as the South began to develop its oil fields. A number of families annually pour back into New York City, particularly Brooklyn, to enjoy the opportunities of a larger life and an expansion in business. Aside from these movements it is hard to detect any general tendency to roam about in the United States.

Return Movement to Syria

The fact and the trend.—The return movement promised in the first years after the war to assume much more important dimensions than it actually did. Evidently the Syrians are too much politically and spiritually wedded to the United States to tolerate a separation. Besides, the uncertainty of the destiny of their benighted land, its present partition among three contending powers and the general paralysis of the means of livelihood discouraged any immediate plans for return.

II: ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Means of Livelihood

The Syrian is a trader wherever and whenever he can be, and a laborer only where he must be. But in either case, he is industrious, acquisitive, and frugal, and therefore almost always economically independent.

Lace merchants.—Starting from humble beginnings, peddling notions, curios and the like, the typical Syrian business man has worked his way through to establishing respectable lace, kimono, or white goods houses in lower Manhattan with show rooms on Fifth Avenue, and branch offices in Chicago, Boston, or abroad. The Syrian community of New York boasts of a few near-millionaires all of whom started a business career penniless and helpless. The kimono industry in this country is exclusively in the hands of Syrians. The Madeira lace industry is controlled to a large extent by them. They also have a large share in the import and sale of the Philippine work (nightgowns, underwear and negligees), Italian filet and cut-work, Japanese drawn work, renaissance, and French Cluny.

Manufacturers.—The kimonos in which they deal

they also manufacture in their own factories which number thirty-five in New York and vicinity. The same thing, to a lesser extent, is true of the laces. A report by Consul Jenkins⁸ in Funchal, Madeira, reveals that the embroidery industry in those islands has practically passed, as a result of the war, from German to Syrian-American hands. Fourteen factories out of a total of thirty-five are now run by or for Syrian merchants.

An advertisement by a Syrian lace firm in New York uses a map of the world, with dots in Japan, China, the Philippines, Italy, France, and the Madeiras to indicate the location of its factories.

In Paterson and West Hoboken, New Jersey, are twenty-five silk factories owned by Syrians.

Peddlers.—The peddler is the connecting link between the lace or white goods merchant and the consumer, generally the housewife. As such, he holds an important place in the economic life of the Syrian community. In its early stages, peddling, the most obvious of Syrian industries, was undoubtedly abused by some in which case it bordered on begging, but the up-to-date Syrian peddler has been metamorphosed into a sort of salesman. He carries only a few samples in his small leather bag and has regular lady customers who order through him many household necessities which they know they cannot get from department stores for double the price he charges them.

The peddling of fruits, vegetables or flowers in a push cart is an Italian, Greek, or Jewish line unknown to Syrians.

Grocers.—In the interior of the country, if the Syrian is not a lace or dry goods merchant, he is usually in the grocery or confectionery business. Open the classified telephone directory of any good-sized town and you are sure to detect a Syrian name

⁸ Dated November 29, 1919.

under that heading. Detroit is said to house some three hundred Syrian groceries. A Druze from the Lebanon owns fifteen grocery stores in Flint, Michigan, and is considered the third largest grocer in the State. One of the most celebrated candy factories in that city of fine candies, Philadelphia, is owned by a Syrian who also runs in connection with it a dozen retail establishments.

Exporters.—With the interruption of communication between South America and Europe, resultant upon the war, the larger part of the Latin American import trade was diverted to the United States. It thus fell to the lot of the Syrians here to handle a goodly portion of it through their fellow Syrian immigrants widely scattered over the southern hemisphere. A number of Syrian export houses were soon established here and some of them are still flourishing.

There are those who say that the wealth of the Syrian-American merchants in general in the last years of the war was doubled.

Industrial workers.—Very few Syrians take to industry and prior to the war only in a few mill towns of New England did the Syrian rank as a proletarian. Lawrence, Fall River, and Worcester, Mass., were then unique. The same thing held true to a lesser extent in the case of Lowell and New Bedford, Mass. In these towns the Syrians, with the Armenians and other "recent" immigrants, were gradually displacing the French Canadians who had displaced the Irish, the latter having displaced the native Yankee stock. At present, however, many more are engaged in the factories of Waterbury, and Bridgeport, in the iron shops and foundries of Pittsburgh, in the automobile factories of Detroit and Cleveland and in the silk factories of Paterson and West Hoboken. To some of these places they were attracted by the high wages paid

during the war to munition workers. But the tendency to enroll as workers in the textile industries, where heavy weight is not a requisite, is more marked. In silk weaving they seem to excel.

The Industrial Commission⁹ quotes a New Jersey silk-mill proprietor who ascribed to the Syrians "an instinct for weaving" and who much preferred them to Armenians and Italians for this purpose. According to an estimate eighty per cent of the Syrians of West Hoboken and Paterson are silk-weavers.

The Syrians, probably because of the open door life to which they are wont at home, shun subterranean occupations and rarely seek employment in subways, excavations, and quarries. A few of them, however, are oil operators and coal miners in West Virginia, Texas, Oklahoma and Pennsylvania. Unlike Italians they likewise avoid heavy manual labor such as is required in the construction of railroads, bridges, and buildings. The only Syrian I met doing such work was a laborer on the private railroad tracks of the Pillsbury Flour Company in Minneapolis.¹⁰

Farmers.—The number of Syrian farmers, like all other foreign born farmers, is comparatively small. The causes are not hard to find. The isolation and lonesomeness of American farm life, the greater necessity for knowing English and starting with a fund of money, the strange food and lack of church facilities, the less abundant economic remuneration, all contribute to make farming to a new-comer prohibitive. To be a farm laborer, of course, has no attraction whatever to him. By the time he settles in a city he gets used to it and refuses to change. The dogmatic and biased pronouncement of Profes-

⁹ *Report*, Vol. XV, p. 446.

¹⁰ For a statement regarding the Syrians in Minneapolis see W. D. David in *Bulletin Minneapolis Council of Americanization*, May, 1920.

sor Hall that Syrians, like all other "recent" immigrants, "are too ignorant to make a success of farming life"¹¹ does not therefore explain the situation.

Nevertheless, there are a few Syrian farmers in New England, especially Maine and Massachusetts, who grow potatoes and fruits, or are engaged in dairy pursuits. One-fourth of the seasonal agriculture laborers in the vicinity of Oneida, N. Y., are Syrians.¹² In New Jersey are Syrian truck farmers who supply the New York Syrian restaurants with vegetables. In the South there are some engaged in the production of cotton, especially in North Carolina, and of tobacco in Virginia. In the neighborhood of Detroit and other places of Michigan a number of Syrian farmers raise vegetables. In the Middle West, particularly the corn belt, and throughout the whole West are hundreds of Syrian farmers. They are well represented in Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming and Washington. Mrs. Houghton is authority for the statement that eight hundred of them live in North Dakota¹³ alone.

Miscellaneous.—It is true that the Syrian is usually found selling laces, groceries and dry goods, yet there is hardly a branch of commerce, a profession, or a trade into which he has not entered. A Syrian in Dubuque, Iowa, makes his living by painting railway cars. In the Albany station a night watchman turned out to be a Syrian. Even artists among them are not lacking. In the field of musical recognition a Syrian composer-pianist is coming to the front as a pioneer in the introduction of Oriental music. From his pen we have a national

¹¹ Prescott F. Hall, *Immigration*, p. 303.

¹² Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauch, *The Immigration Problem*, p. 96.

¹³ *The Survey*, July 1, 1911.

anthem entitled, "For Thee America" which has been officially adopted by the New York and other Boards of Education. A Syrian lad of nineteen years held his Aeolian Hall audience spell-bound as he made, in the fall of 1919, his musical debut. Four years ago the paintings of a Syrian artist, exhibited in Fifth Avenue, New York, attracted nation-wide favorable attention. The following classified list of the vocations of the twenty-four active members of the Syrian Educational Society shows a cross section of the Syrian manhood of this country.

Merchants	6	Pharmacist	1
Physicians	3	Lawyer	1
Dentists	3	Export Comm.	1
Engineers	2	Minister	1
Clerks	2	Life Ins. Agent	1
Students	2	Teacher	1

—
12 vocations 24 men

Changes in means of livelihood.—Aside from the natural evolution from peddling to store keeping, and apart from the rush during the war period to enroll in industrial occupation in connection with factories and mills, there is hardly a noticeable tendency for change in the means of living. Commerce is the Syrian's regular sphere and in it the majority among them move, from one zone to another, but rarely outside the circle. The shop seems to be the last stand of a race that has been a wanderer over the earth ever since the first ship sailed from ancient Phoenicia.

Standards of living.—The standard of living among a people is the resultant of two factors: the desires and appetites of that people and the amount of income available for the gratification of those desires.

The Syrians as a rule desire good and wholesome food, and their dishes follow them wherever they go. To everything American they readily adapt themselves, but in matters that pertain to the menu they are always Syrian. The cook book, in which among others the recipe for Esau's dish is still preserved in the form of mjaddarah, is the last of the Lares and Penates to be hocked. That a Syrian family spends a higher percentage of its income for gastronomic pleasures than an American family of equal means is beyond doubt. The Syrians, moreover, like to keep up appearances in dress and they probably spend for clothing as much as any other people. But in matters of housing and furniture they lag behind. In point of income they compare favorably with any other immigrants. Their merchants as a class are well-to-do. The Syrian silk weavers of New Jersey draw the highest wages in that line, and so do some textile operators in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The bulk of the Syrian immigrants are self-supporting and singularly independent.

Producers in a Family.—A considerable number of unmarried women earn their living by peddling and in sweater, kimono or lace factories, but the number of married women who undertake work is small. Few sew at home, but the sweat-shop system is unknown. In a family the burden of financial responsibility is supposed to fall on the father. Young children engage in selling papers or doing odd jobs between school periods, but their unusual desire for learning stands in their way. In the households studied by the Immigration Commission,¹⁴ in seven cities, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Buffalo and Milwaukee, the per cent at work of ninety-one Syrian cases, six and under sixteen years of age, was 2.2, at home

¹⁴ *Reports*, Vol. I, p. 763.

3.3, and at school 94.5; whereas of a grand total of 9,816 cases native born of native fathers and of foreign fathers and foreign born, 7.1% were at work, 8.6% at home, and 84.3% at school.

Savings.—It is the consensus of opinion among those who know them that the Syrians are a thrifty people. This characteristic was in some form or other noted by every social worker or Americanization secretary who was asked about his knowledge of the race.

The results are demonstrated in the fact that as charity seekers and recipients they show a clear record. In answer to a question the secretary of the Bowery Branch of the Y. M. C. A. in New York City wrote that the Syrians were too thrifty to become recruits to the "hobo" class, none of them having ever frequented that institution. Correspondence with boards of charity and departments of public welfare in the spring of 1920 failed to reveal any dependent Syrians. From the Charity Organization Society of New York comes the statement that for the year ended Sept. 30, 1917, the Society had under its care "nine men and thirteen women who were either Armenians or Syrians and probably more were Armenians than Syrians." Their response to the appeal of the settlement houses, as a perusal of the reports of such houses would indicate, is not very strong either. The saving habit, of course, does not alone explain this enviable record. The Syrians are singularly self-supporting and like to care for their own dependents. Besides, their migration into this country is such a recent event that only an insignificant number, even of the early comers, have as yet passed into old age.

Unrest.—In a circular inquiry sent to a hundred leading Syrians in the United States, the question as to the fact and causes of unrest in their respective

communities was asked, and in no case did the reply admit the existence of any.

Radicalism has no votaries among this people. Prohibition is a superfluous piece of legislation for the vast majority of them. As business men, most of them are only indirectly affected by the rise or fall of wages, and much less than the salaried men by the high cost of living. If there is any unrest, or rather unease, it is due to the disturbed conditions of Syria.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS

I: SOCIAL IDEALS

Housing.—Since the industrial workers among the Syrians are a small minority and colonies are not the rule, housing does not constitute much of a problem. The Syrian colonies of New York, housed in Brooklyn, are really colonies of traders. They are the largest in the country and are, in the words of Mrs. Houghton, “superior to most immigrants’ colonies, of whatever people, in any part of the United States.”¹ Washington Street, Manhattan, has become the business, and no more the residential, quarters of Syrians.²

The colonies of Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Albany are more or less ill housed and crowded. “Yet,” Mrs. Houghton states,³ “the poorest Syrian home in Albany is cleaner and better than those of the Italians among whom they live.” However poor, the Syrian house is usually clean, though not always orderly according to American housewife standards.

An investigation of housing conditions among immigrants in general, and Syrians in particular, tends to modify the general impression gained from the observation of extreme cases, and establishes the fact that the undesirable conditions prevailing in

¹ *The Survey*, July 1, 1911.

² For the good work done there by the Bowling Green Association see its reports for the last eight years in which it has been operating.

³ *The Survey*, July 1, 1911.

some congested quarters, where the sun is a luxury and fresh air needs a license, are often not brought about by the residents but in spite of them. A study of living conditions, inaugurated by the Immigration Commission⁴ in the most crowded quarters of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Buffalo and Milwaukee, showed that of 357 Syrian households for which information was secured, 26.1% were characterized as "good" from the standpoint of cleanliness, order and care, 58.3% "fair," 13.4% "bad" and 2.2% "very bad." Of a grand total of 10,123 households of foreign born and native born, 45.2% were labeled "good," 39% "fair," 12% "bad," and 2.9% "very bad." It was further discovered that "taking boarders" is an institution hardly known to the Syrians and that the average occupants of a room among them is less than among most other nationalities.

Recreation.—Outside of the imported coffee house, where the so-called Turkish coffee can still be sipped and the long-tubed water pipe (*nārgilah*) smoked, the old time Syrians have no amusements or means of recreation. In smaller colonies the restaurants serve as cafés and social centers. The dance hall is not a favorite resort among Syrians. The Americanization secretary at Kansas City assured me that even the American born Syrian girls hesitate to dance in public especially with people whom they had met for the first time. The movies are the chief attraction for all. As a rule athletics receive slight attention and the recreation centers are little patronized. The Syrian characteristic fondness for outdoor life and "air smelling" is carried into this country, where, of course, it is tempered by the close living conditions and the hustle of the New World.

The number of Syrians who join the Y. M. C. A.'s

⁴ *Reports*, Vol. I, p. 727.

is not what it should be. That they are not all blind to the opportunities, physical and otherwise, which the organization has in store for its members, is evidenced in the case of a travelling salesman who said to me in Chicago that he takes a plunge into the "Y" pool in every city he visits. My sleep was one summer night in Camp Oscawana interrupted by two Arabic-speaking voices which I thought I was hearing in a dream, and which I could not verify until the second morning when the two Syrian boys stood by the door of my tent.

Family life.—The concept of family life as something sacred has not yet been divorced from the Syrian mind. Around this phase of his life we therefore find most of his virtues clustered.

The father is still considered in fact as in word the head of the family. The children are expected to treat him with reverence and his affection for them is in return unlimited. Divorce is rarely practiced and desertion is practically unknown.

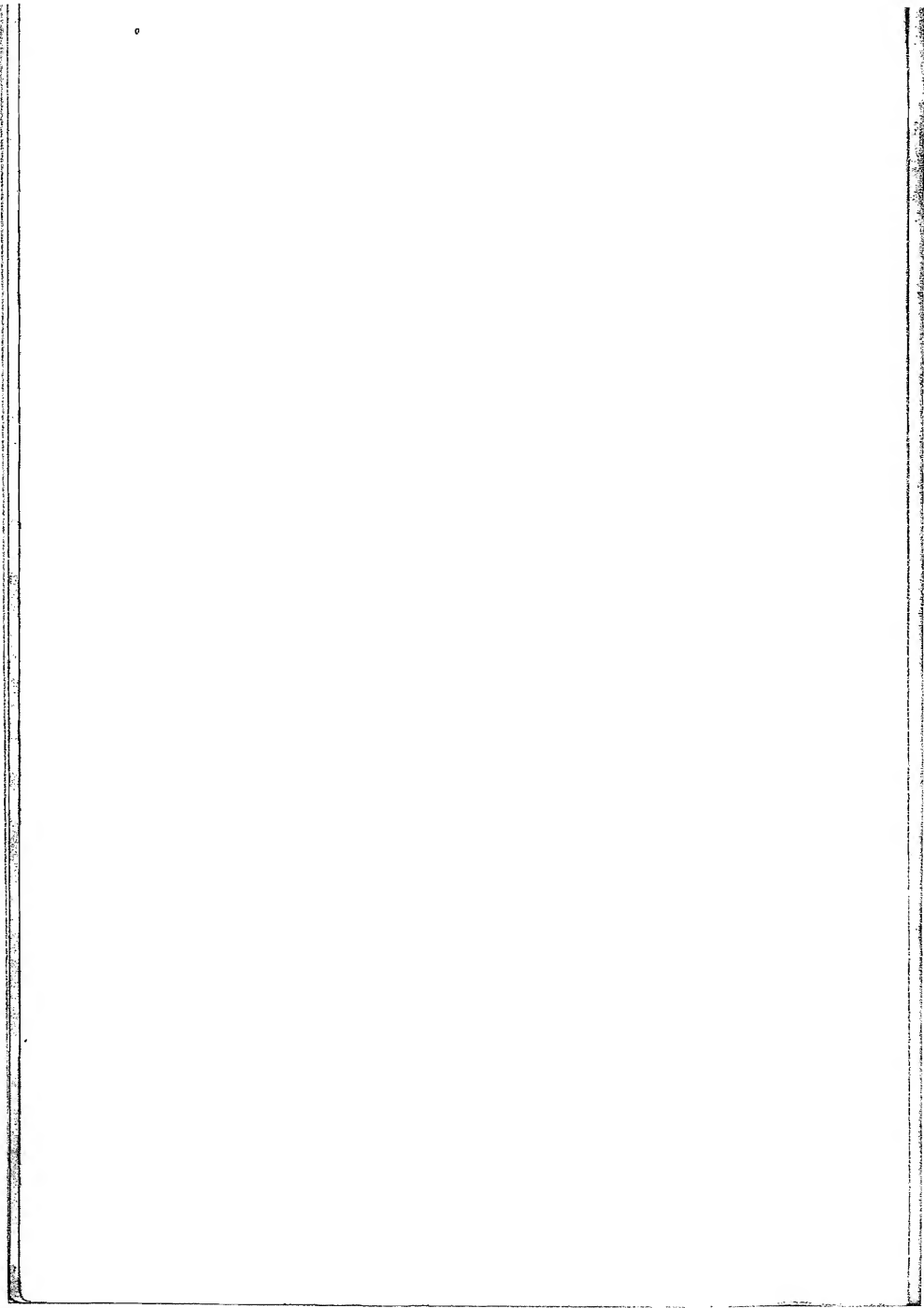
One of the main problems of Syrian family life in America is that of how to span the gap between the old fashioned Arabic-speaking parents, on the one hand, and the American-born English-speaking children on the other. How hard it is for a public school child, who has all of a sudden discovered that he is superior to his father in point of education and linguistic attainments, to reconcile himself to an attitude of obedient respect is easy to imagine.

What the full effect of a new environment may be upon a grown up person, in calling forth hitherto dormant forces, has not yet been clearly ascertained. Nor has the effect upon the first native generation in a new environment been fully determined. It is my observation that, although more or less Americanized, the American-born children are in many ways lacking in the "stuff" which their Syrian-born fathers possess to a certain degree.



Photograph by A. Tennyson Beals

A SYRIAN MOTHER AND HER BABY, AMERICAN BORN



After referring to this difficulty of adjustment between the Oriental idea of the family as a patriarchal institution and the larger freedom of this country, Professor Cole⁵ goes on to say, "However, Syrian home life is, on the whole, peaceful and even singularly happy. In fact it often contains much that is beautiful. The Syrians are pre-eminently a home-loving people."

Neighborhood life.—The Syrians present the spectacle of a rural and agricultural people transplanted into, and confronted by the problems of, modern city life. The fact that they get along as well as they do here, when hardly any one of them before coming had been to a town of more than a couple of hundred thousand, speaks well for their adaptability and responsiveness.

That they unconsciously hold on to usages outlandish in urban life is only natural. The case of the peddler mentioned by Dr. Roberts⁶ who "never knocks or rings the bell, but simply walks in, puts down her pack and takes a chair" is easy to explain on the ground of neighborliness rather than intrusion. To one born and brought up in a fifty-family village on Mount Lebanon, where everybody knows everybody else, such a course is the regular method of procedure.

As neighbors the Syrians are, for the same reason, noisy. What Professor Fairchild⁷ says of the Greeks is equally true of them. It takes more shouting for a couple of boatmen to bring their bark to the gangway of a steamer than an Anglo-Saxon would require to manœuvre a whole fleet.

⁵ William J. Cole, *Immigrant Races in Massachusetts: The Syrians*, p. 6.

⁶ Peter Roberts, *The New Immigration*, p. 139.

⁷ Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration*, pp. 21-22.

II: MORAL STANDARDS

The Industrial Commission⁸ has expressed it mildly when it says, "In so far as morality is concerned, the Syrians in America compare favorably with other nationalities."

Social virtue.—The Syrians in this country are face to face with the results of modern civilization without having been through the processes that produced it, and consequently, without having developed the traits and inhibitions that result thereof. Some of them are likely therefore to mistake liberty for license and equality for personal superiority. Released as they are from family ties and community traditions, it is surprising that not more of them fall by the wayside.

It is the unanimous verdict of physicians who practice among them that those afflicted with venereal diseases are comparatively few. Chastity among women is taken for granted, as is their religion, and according to authentic reports there is no such thing as a Syrian prostitute in the United States.

Drink.—The saloon, an Anglo-Saxon institution, finds no patrons among Syrians. They rather patronize cafés. When their Chicago colony began to invade Sherman Street, the saloon-keepers had to close up. The only attempt on the part of a Syrian to open a saloon was made in New York City a few years ago, and, of course, resulted in a conspicuous failure. Mr. Malouf quotes in *The Boston Evening Transcript*⁹ a prominent social worker to the effect that in eight years of work in the Syrian community of Boston she had never seen a Syrian woman intoxicated and only one Syrian man.

Many Syrians do take a social drink at home or for pleasure but rarely to the point of intoxication.¹⁰

⁸ *Reports*, Vol. XV, p. 444.

⁹ August 22, 1917.

¹⁰ Edward A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, p. 61.

Their forbears, vine-growers and wine-bibbers, from time immemorial, have evidently had chance to drink enough to make their offspring immune and to purge their system from alcoholics.

Gambling.—Games of chance were undoubtedly known to the earliest Syrians, but gambling as an institution is a by-product of our so-called modern civilization. Very few of the Syrians land here with any knowledge of it, but fewer stay long without knowing and practicing it.

In answer to a question in the circular inquiry as to what constituted the chief vice among the Syrians, the majority voted for gambling. In its last report, Denison House¹¹ of Boston writes: "In a Syrian neighborhood, as in others, one of the serious questions is that of gambling. In summer, craps were played constantly on the street corners, especially on Sunday, while large groups of children and grown people looked on. Denison House found that in more than one case women left their children and went to work to help pay their husband's gambling debts. The residents feel this evil is not sufficiently controlled by public opinion."

Crime.—Contrary to the commonly accepted view, immigrants are less inclined to criminality, on the whole, than are native Americans, and, among immigrants, the Syrians have a particularly clean record. The blotters in our police stations seldom disclose a Syrian name. The Irish had their Molly Maguires, the Italians have their blackhand, banditti and desperadoes, the French and Hebrews their white slave traffickers, the Armenian their Kolchagists, but there are no Syrians who stand out in bad prominence as offenders against law, property or person. In his "Foreign Criminals in New York,"¹²

¹¹ *Annual Report Denison House, 1919.*

¹² *North American Review, September, 1908.*

Police Commissioner Bingham does not honor them even with a mention.

A study of the crimes committed by Syrians shows that they are in the main minor offences, such as peddling without license, due more likely than not to ignorance of the city ordinances. Unfamiliarity with the language and customs of the land is another fruitful source of this type of criminality. A Syrian in a munition factory in New Jersey almost forfeited his life one day for seemingly ignoring a sign prohibiting passage, and for not halting at the command of the guard. A few winters ago three Syrians were arrested in Burlington, Vt., for "stealing" lumber from a yard, which they thought was common property, but were soon released by the judge who became convinced of their innocence and ignorance only after one of them had tried to put the spittoon to a use other than that for which it was designed.

Another extenuating circumstance is the noisy character of their altercations which often wax violent and impress the onlooker—or even the policeman and the newspaper reporter—as though they might lead to alarming consequences, but which seldom result in serious damage to anyone. The riots of 1905 in the Manhattan colony resulted in but one murder and a few cases of stabbing, although they lasted for days and assumed in the newspapers national notoriety.

Here for instance are some headlines of one issue of *The New York Herald*:¹³ "FACTIONAL WAR IS WAGED BETWEEN SYRIANS OF NEW YORK CITY. CUTTING AND SHOOTING. BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER, VILLAGERS AGAINST VILLAGERS, AND OLD TIME FRIENDS ARE PARTED. ORIENTAL WARFARE IS CARRIED ON WITH AMERICAN MODIFICATIONS. VOICES OF WOMEN HEARD."

Even such a conservative and well-balanced paper

¹³ Sunday, October 29, 1905.

as *The New York Times* ¹⁴ presents this graphic account to its readers: "Wild-eyed Syrians battled fiercely for a quarter of an hour in the lower west side last night. The dim light from barroom and café windows showed the glint of steel in two hundred swarthy hands. Reserves from three police precincts were rushed to the battleground, but there was plenty of time for a fight before they got there," etc.

After reading such an account one would hardly believe that these are the same people whom, two years previous to that, Professor Miller ¹⁵ had characterized as follows: "In his love of law and order the Syrian cannot be excelled. Personal inquiry at police stations and among patrolmen, as well as careful research in the reports of the Commissioner of Charities and Correction failed to bring out the slightest flaw. . . . The universal testimony of the police authorities is that there is no more peaceful or law abiding race in New York City." Discussing this phase of their life, Mrs. Houghton ¹⁶ has this to say, "It is therefore with amazement that, collating the testimony of court and police officials and city magistrates the country over as to the amount of vice and crime among this people, one finds a bewildering unanimity to the effect that none exists, or next to none. From nearly every city comes the emphatic testimony that Syrians are never in the courts, that they are far more peaceable and law-abiding than other immigrants, or even than Americans. A city magistrate who has had an extensive acquaintance with them says that no Syrian has ever been even accused of larceny, forgery, libel, bigamy, desertion, or any carnal crime."

¹⁴ October 24, 1905.

¹⁵ Lucius Hopkins Miller, *A Study of the Syrian Communities of Greater New York*, p. 51.

¹⁶ *The Survey*, September 2, 1911, pp. 295-296.

Beyond a certain number of stabbing and shooting affrays, cases of smuggling and fraudulent bankruptcy, the only serious accusations brought against Syrians in the United States is that their standards of business probity and veracity are not up to the American mark. There may be an element of truth in that. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Oriental manner of speech which the Syrian uses is meant to convey impressions rather than accurate scientific information. The fine niceties of distinction between various shades of thought, in which the Anglo-Saxon indulges, are not deemed necessary.¹⁷ The Syrian is fond of exaggeration and figures of speech, but does not expect his hearer to take him literally. He has a poet's license and uses it, though he may not have the poetry. His language has behind it the same psychology as lies behind the various advertisements or the statements of the different presidential campaign managers which we read in our papers. The hotel in which I am writing these lines has its walls placarded with this legend "THE CLEANEST, MOST REASONABLE IN PRICE, AND MOST SANITARY IN ALL CHICAGO." If this is to be taken seriously, I must not believe the proprietor. But I know exactly what he means. He means to say the hotel is good enough for me, and I believe it.

Considering the business tradition which the Syrian brings with him from a country where a "one-price" system is not known and bargaining is the rule, and where political oppression often makes truth unpopular and unsafe, special credit should be given to the Syrians for maintaining the standards of integrity and truth which they do maintain. A new type of Syrian business man with all the traditions of American business is rapidly forging to the front. As early as 1906 *The New York Evening*

¹⁷ Abraham M. Rihbany, *The Syrian Christ*, Chaps. IV and V.

*Post*¹⁸ had this to say, "Those among them who have risen to a higher degree of wealth than the majority of their countrymen possess the complete confidence of the business men with whom they deal."

Relation to the old country.—The relation of the Syrian immigrants, not so much to the old country, as to their folks in the old country, has been kept alive and cordial. Their sympathy with them during the years of famine and war, as expressed in terms of relief, furnishes the best evidence therefor.

Up to March 20th of 1920, the amount of individual contributions sent through the Near East Relief¹⁹ by individual Syrians was \$168,100.79. Up to the first of December, 1919, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions had transmitted \$2,250,362.07 to Syrian relatives and friends from Syrians in America. The Syrian Mt. Lebanon Relief Committee raised in the course of two and a half years of its existence from about 15,000 Syrian subscribers in America, \$165,815.58. How much more was sent through the papal legation at Washington and the Spanish Embassy is hard to ascertain.

Even in normal times, according to certain claims, the Syrians send, per capita, more money home than almost any other immigrant people.

Relation with other racial groups.—Aside from a few business partnerships and marriages between Syrians and Greeks or Armenians, the Syrians have no special relationship with any other racial group. They prefer to intermarry among themselves, and those of them who are not fortunate enough to find brides here have to go to Syria for them.

Racial prepossessions and aspirations.—It is not safe to generalize regarding the racial prepossession-

¹⁸ February 22, 1906.

¹⁹ Formerly American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, One Madison Avenue, New York City.

sions of a heterogeneous people. In the case of the Syrians, however, certain characteristics are especially pronounced. They are as a rule, adventurous, though easily discouraged, adaptable, industrious, but not persevering, frugal, and individualistic. In appraising their character, Professor Cole²⁰ uses the following language: "Pride of race, a high degree of native intelligence, an individualism which retards co-operative effort and often passes into factionalism, shrewdness and cleverness in business, devotion to the institutions of this country, imaginativeness, religious loyalty, love of domestic life, courtesy and hospitality, eagerness for education, fondness for music and poetry, temperance in the men and chastity in the women, self-respect and self-reliance—such are some of the more obvious traits of the Syrians."

Relation to American people.—The Syrians did not make their debut into the social consciousness of the American people until 1905 when their exaggerated "factional war" was waged in their Manhattan colony. It was a poor introduction and the undue publicity given it left an enduring and unfavorable impression.

One would expect at least a Sunday school acquaintance with this people of the Holy Land, yet this is not always the case.

In 1909 we find the United States District Court in St. Louis holding that Syrians could not be naturalized because they come within the category of aliens other than white.²¹ The case was carried to the Circuit Court of Appeals and the decision of the lower court was reversed. The same question was later raised in the Southern District of New York, and the decision of the lower court that they could

²⁰ William J. Cole, *Immigrant Races in Massachusetts: The Syrians*, p. 4.

²¹ *New York Tribune*, November 4, 1904.

be naturalized was affirmed by the Circuit Court of Appeals of that district.

Even at present the colossal ignorance and prejudice, on the part of some, is amazing and constitutes the chief obstacle in the way of better understanding. In an amusing printed bill, circulated in the spring of 1920 in Birmingham, Alabama, we read:

FOR CORONER

VOTE FOR

J. D. GOSS

"THE WHITE MAN'S CANDIDATE"

"They have disqualified the negro, an American citizen, from voting in the white primary. The Greek and Syrian should also be disqualified. I DON'T WANT THEIR VOTE. If I can't be elected by the white men, I don't want the office."

Aside from these few unhappy points of contact the relationship between Syrians and Americans has been on the whole cordial. The writings of Mr. Rihbany have been a potent factor in acquainting the American public with the Syrian mode of thought and living. The Near East Relief Committee, through its speakers and general publicity, has contributed more than any other agency towards arousing sympathetic interest in the Syrians in Syria which undoubtedly has had its reaction upon the Syrians in America.

Political relations.—Syrians cut no figure in the political life of this nation. Very few of them interest themselves in politics or aspire to office. Nothing else could be expected from a people coming from a country where "We the People" does not exist. The case of one who in 1910 ran as Republican nominee to represent the Fifth Senatorial District in New York, and was defeated, stands as a conspicuous exception.

Most of them vote as Republicans, but a number of the Maronites are Democrats. The registration lists in the Syrian districts of Brooklyn and New York show a total of 2,000 voters of whom only 500 exercise the franchise.

Social organizations.—All Syrian organizations are, in a measure, social, and they exist in abundance. The New York community boasts of an aggregate of twenty-five societies of which four are exclusively for women. The basis of membership in some is geographical, such as the Beirūt Society, the Ramallah Society; in others sectarian, such as the Maronite League; and in still others educational or charitable. This well-marked tendency to group into small short-lived organizations has been recently termed by a young physician "Societitis." The Syrians in Brooklyn maintain a Masonic lodge of their own. Two of their societies have clubhouses, in Brooklyn, as does a Syrian society in Boston.

In addition to that there is in connection with almost every church some sort of a society which takes it upon itself to administer relief to the needy members of that church and to bury the friendless dead.

Radical organizations find no root in Syrian soil. Not only Bolshevism but even socialism finds no adherents among them. Two years ago an attempt to transplant the Marxian doctrine into Washington Street, New York, proved as much of a futile project as a previous attempt to establish a saloon.

The number of Syrian workmen who join trade-unions, unless they have to, is exceedingly small.

III: EDUCATIONAL FORCES

The educational forces in operation among the Syrians in this country are lamentably meager and ineffective. In reply to a question in the circular inquiry as to what constituted the greatest need of the

Syrians in this country, the word "education," or some modification of it, was used in almost every case. The rush for material betterment has created in the Syrian-American a mercenary spirit and abated his generally recognized zeal for higher education.

Public and parochial schools.—However poor the family may be, the parents usually insist on giving the child a primary education but once the grades are over he or she is considered "educated" with no further necessity for study. The *Reports of the Immigration Commission*²² show a high percentage of Syrian children, six and under sixteen years of age, at school. Only a small minority of Syrian children frequent parochial schools, the majority preferring the public system. In the case of Manhattan where the two types are nearly equidistant from the Syrian quarters, the public has this year 350 pupils, and the parochial only 6. There is a slight tendency on the part of Maronite and other parents to send their girl children to the parochial school because, as a woman in a rug store at Indianapolis told me, "they have a better chance to learn religion and good manners," which she herself could not teach them on account of her being in the store all day. One father in Indiana gave as an excuse for sending his daughters to a parochial school the fact that they taught dancing in public schools.

A number of Syrian priests run some sort of a school as an adjunct to the church, in which they teach Arabic and church ritual. A Greek Orthodox priest in Cedar Rapids, Ia., the only Syrian pastor in Iowa and three neighboring states, lamented the fact that under the exigencies of war a state law was enacted prohibiting instruction in an alien tongue.

The kind of a student the Syrian boy makes is perhaps best portrayed by the following words from

²² Vols. I, p. 763, and II, pp. 140-145.

an interview with a public school principal in New York, who for twenty years has seen generations of Syrian pupils pass through his institution. "Our Syrian students show no signs of unusual ability because they mostly come from humble families where English is not spoken and where living conditions are not conducive to good health and good mentality. In point of attendance they are regular, no truants among them. They are generally warm-hearted, affectionate, respectful to teachers and most responsive to the right appeal. They make good students and in years to come excellent citizens."

This unusual responsiveness on the part of Syrian children has been emphasized by many teachers and social workers among them. The social secretary of the Bowling Green Association, Manhattan, was particularly emphatic on this point.

The ability of Syrian children to "pick up" English has also been the subject of favorable comment from many teachers. The director of the Central Friendly Inn in Cleveland referred with pride to the ability of her Syrian girls to speak English fluently and correctly.

Colleges.—Most of the Syrian students pursuing higher courses of education are men born abroad who have come here for the express purpose of perfecting their knowledge. The *Directory of Foreign Students*, issued December, 1919, by the Committee on Friendly Relations, records the names of thirty-five Syrian students in colleges and universities. There are others unrecorded who would swell the number to fifty, of whom two only are girls. Some of these students have won the highest honors in Harvard, Columbia and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In order to arouse the interest of the community in higher education and to unite the educated Syrians in a common effort towards a common end,

The Syrian Educational Society was established, seven years ago in New York with a chapter in Boston. The Society has during the year 1922 to 1923 bestowed the amount of \$2,000 in scholarships on eleven Syrian students in nine different colleges.

Literature and newspapers.—Hardly any Syrians in this country are given to literary pursuits. The best talent among them seems to be invested in commercial and professional activities, leaving the art of writing to the hand of the amateur. In most homes the book case is not considered a necessary piece of furniture. A glance at the printed catalogue of the Syrian quasi-book-store in New York,—the only one there is in America,—will reveal the amazingly large number of cheap story books advertised, as compared with the scientific or inspirational works. While acting as custodian of the Oriental Room of the New York Public Library, which, next to the Library of Congress, houses the largest collection of Oriental books, I was impressed by the small number of Syrian readers.

This, however, does not mean that Syrians are not fond of reading. The fact that half a dozen presses, four daily newspapers, one thrice weekly, one semi-weekly, two weekly, one semi-monthly and one monthly, together with five magazines²³ can flourish among them, as they do, proves beyond doubt their eagerness for news and light reading matter. The papers serve a good purpose in being the only channel through which the newly arrived immigrant who knows no English can gain a glimpse of the world outside. Some of the papers owe their survival to their insistence on arousing religious and tribal feuds which really belong to a past order of society, but the patriotism of all is beyond question.

Of the dailies the circulation of the largest does not exceed 5,000. *Al-Hoda* claims the largest num-

²³ For a list of newspapers and magazines see Appendix F.

ber of Maronite readers and *Meraat-ul-Gharb* of Greek Orthodox readers. *Al-Bayan* is edited by a Druze and caters chiefly to Muhammadan and Druze subscribers.

It is significant that the only religious publication at present is *al-Asr-al-Dhahabi* (The Golden Age) issued monthly by Syrian Russellites in Brooklyn. That the leading magazine is the *Syrian-American Commercial Magazine* is an index of the importance of commerce in the life of the Syrian people.

IV: LEADERSHIP

Of all the immigrants races, the Syrians seem to be the most jealous of those of their number who aspire to leadership and are consequently most leaderless. Intensely individualistic with a history and geography that militate against co-operative effort the modern Syrian has come to look upon organization with suspicion and contempt.

Traditional leadership.—Leaderless in many ways, yet deluged with petty and self-made leaders, the Syrians in this country present a lamentable sight. Among the older generation, as well as among the new arrivals, a form of traditional leadership, based on the claim of social importance or "blood superiority" in the old country, asserts itself. Particularly among the Druzes and Muhammadans, is a *sheikh* or scion of a "noble family" looked upon as worthy of following. In the early stages of Syrian immigration people from the same town in Syria usually occupied the same block in America and thus made it possible for the man who swayed authority in the old home to maintain it in this land.

Business leadership.—In other cases, especially in small towns, the economic standing provides the ground for leadership. A successful business man in a small Syrian community, and in default of the

other and more vigorous kinds of leadership, usually succeeds in establishing his right for a following. Is not the mere fact that he arose above the average enough to give him that right? Besides, the other Syrians are often his commercial satellites, and he knows more English which gives him a special standing in the eyes of his compatriots.

National leadership.—As a result of the war a new type of leadership, which might be termed national leadership, has come to the front. Its appeal is made to the old national spirit in behalf of the mother-land. While the soul of every Syrian is deeply stirred with a desire for the welfare of Syria, yet the lines of cleavage among the people are too deeply marked to admit of the possibility of any united effort for a united cause. No such thing therefore as the Bohemian National Alliance, the Polish National Alliance or the Pan-Hellenic Union was effected among the Syrians, and their national leaders have only a limited sphere of influence. "Pan" is a western idol and has no worshippers among these sons of the east.

Through local club and society officers, however, a certain degree of influence does not fail to assert itself over restricted areas.

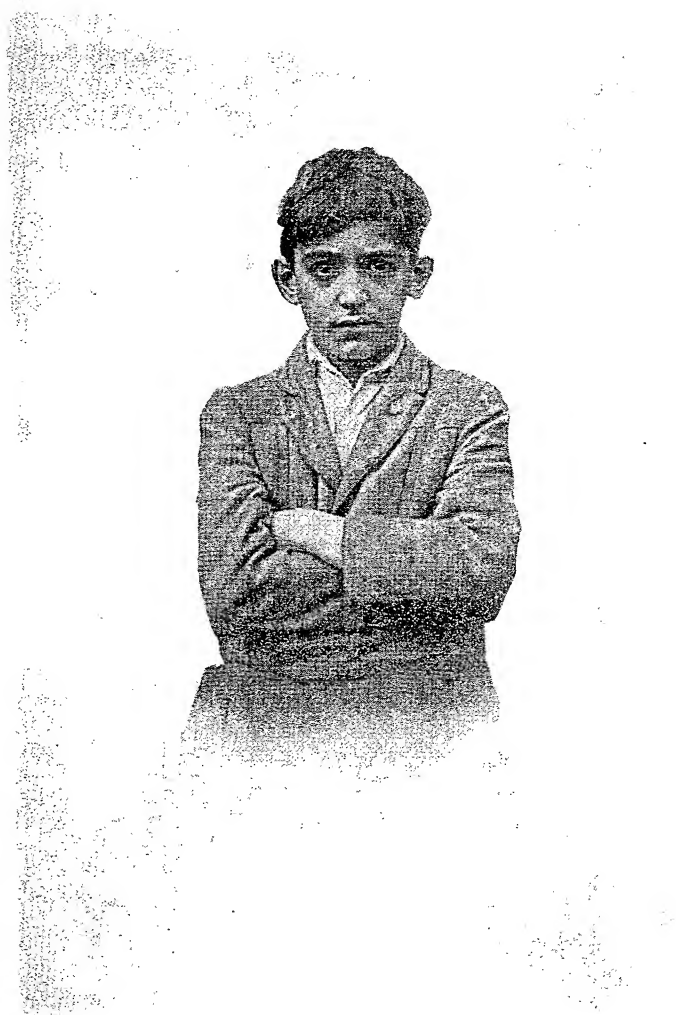
Clerical leadership.—A positive and far-reaching sort of control is exercised through the clerical office. Its strength varies with the various sects, being most marked among Maronites and least marked among Protestants. Even among those who do not regularly attend church services, such leadership still meets response; and the least attack made on a clergyman by an outsider is sure to bring violent protest.

Among the Syrians, clerical influence, though by the nature of the case conservative and often reactionary, is, in the main, wholesome and for the good. It is the only agency for preserving the moral

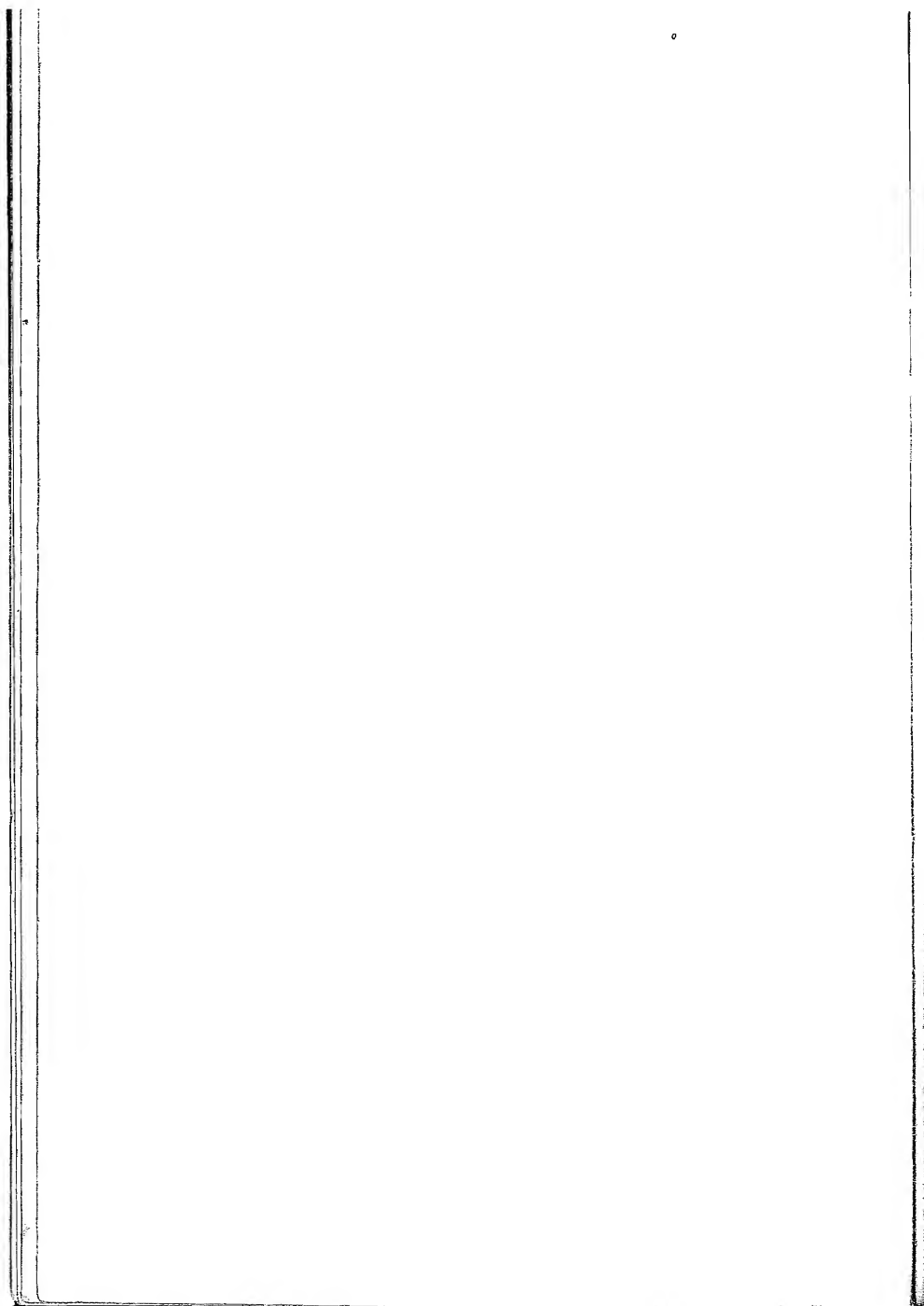
and spiritual life. The priests, as is to be expected, concern themselves in perpetuating certain antiquated traditions and worn-out institutions, and to that extent, retard the processes of progress along assimilation lines, but before the new-comer has become fully exposed to the forces of assimilation and as long as he is proof against them, the moral and spiritual influence of his priest is the only one that counts.

Literary leadership.—Another type of leadership is exercised through the printed word, and, since the output of Syrian literature in this country is almost nil, this form of leadership finds its chief exponents among newspaper writers. During the war the multitudinous government measures, including loans, draft, and food saving campaigns, would not have met such success among the foreign born had it not been for the foreign language press. One and all the Syrian papers, through sheer patriotism, rallied to the support of the government, and have, throughout their history, proved loyal to its cause. The fact, however, that a number of them are commercial, in their inception, and often indulge in personal attacks, cannot be denied. As in the case of the riots of 1905, they tend to accentuate the differences among the different parties and to keep old feuds and religious strifes alive. Like the priests, many writers have their faces turned toward the past rather than the future, and the old country ideas are too much ingrained in their system to make them fully appreciate American principles and institutions.

On analysis it will be found that on the part of the reader what provides the basis for this leadership is respect for the written word. "Didn't you see it in print?" is enough assurance to a skeptic in a debate that the thing is true. Coming from a country where the Muhammadan would stoop in the street



A FUTURE SYRIAN-AMERICAN CITIZEN



to pick up a paper and deposit it in a hole in the wall lest there be on it the name of Allah that might be defiled by the feet of the passers-by, the Syrian holds the printed page in special reverence and esteem.^{23a}

Leadership for service.—Aside from all these forms, a new type of leadership is beginning to make itself felt. Many young Syrians, progressive and forward-looking, educated in American institutions, are rapidly coming into prominence. The struggle between the old and the new, between leadership for exploitation and leadership for service will undoubtedly be a long and bitter one, but there is no question as to where victory will ultimately lie. The old type of leadership survives on the fresh recruits from the home land, but for the new generation the glamor of such influence can have no attraction. The only unfortunate thing is that the tendency for the new and young leaders rising all over the country is to be identified with American, rather than Syrian, interests and communities.

V: FORCES IN ASSIMILATION

In the vast foreign born population of this cosmopolitan country, the 200,000 Syrians constitute the proverbial drop in the basket. But there are enough of them to present an individual problem.

A perusal of practically everything that has been written about them convinces me that of all the many races that go to make up our polyglot people, the Syrians are among the most imperfectly understood. The first essential for success in work directed towards the assimilation of a people is a sympathetic approach based upon a sound appreciation of the psychology and antecedents of that people. The charity worker in Boston who thought that Syrians

^{23a} For a general treatise see Archibald McClure, *Leadership in New America*.

in that city were "extremely untrustworthy and unreliable"²⁴ was evidently lacking in this essential.

A social worker in a mid-western city once asked me whether Syrians ate "kitten" meat, because, she said, a Syrian woman referred to the meat in her kitchen as "kitten" meat. To anyone familiar with the fastidious habits of Syrians in eating, the absurdity of the question is apparent. Syrians hardly eat anything but lamb and as fresh as they can get it. It never occurred to the social worker that, in her imperfect knowledge of English, the Syrian woman thought the term "kitten" applied to the young of all the animal kingdom—including the sheep species.

Naturalization and assimilation.—Time there was in which naturalization was looked upon as wielding a sort of magic wand in converting the alien into an American. The war has discredited this process and relegated it to its purely legalistic function. At other times assimilation became the watchword, and the "melting pot" theory found wide prevalence. Before long the fallacy in this was also discovered. It was realized that on the one hand individuality cannot be melted, and that, on the other hand, there is no human mould after which the spiritual stuff of the immigrant is to be patterned, that the American type into which the immigrant is to be transformed has not yet been finally evolved and fixed.²⁵ In a stereotyped and autocratic form of society the standard to which all must conform is definitely agreed upon and accepted. But it is to the credit of a democracy that its very genius insists on a similarity in essentials and differentiation in individual characteristics and on the preservation of those characteristics as a sacred contribution towards the whole.

Far from being a melting process, assimilation

²⁴ "C" in *The Survey*, October 29, 1912.

²⁵ Horace J. Bridges, *On Becoming an American*, Chap. VIII.

is therefore more of a weaving process—weaving according to the old and slow hand-loom system by which each contributes his share towards the production of the final fabric. Bridges calls it “cultural cross-fertilization.” It follows that unless we make up our mind that, however uncouth and outlandish the Syrian may be, yet he has something to contribute to our civilization along the line of courtesy, temperance, chastity and religion, we are not in the right attitude of mind for assimilating him.

Americanization.—With the decline of belief in naturalization and assimilation as infallible processes, there came into favor within the last few years the so-called process of Americanization. Numberless organizations sprang up like mushrooms, large sums of money were raised and numerous “drives” were instituted to convert the alien. The trouble with an Americanization “drive” is that it does not Americanize. Americanization is a spiritual process, and like all spiritual processes, it is subject to the laws of growth. It is invisible and subtle, if it is to be real and enduring. It involves the problem of environment pitted against heredity. The knowledge of English is a step towards Americanization, but it is not Americanization itself. Donning American clothes and eating American food does not constitute Americanization. America, being more than a geographic entity, is a set of ideas, institutions and ideals; and Americanization means divesting one’s self of a certain deep rooted patrimony of ideas, sentiments, traditions and interests, and an acceptance of, and participation in, a certain new spiritual inheritance. Such a thing cannot be accomplished completely in one generation. Even the second generation among immigrants cannot be fully assimilated.

Americanization is not solely a “foreign” problem. It is essentially an American problem. The

fact that the foreigner is within our gates indicates his belief in our ability to teach him. The question is not so much as to whether the foreigner is responsive and open minded, as it is to whether the American is virile and broad enough to adopt him into his spiritual heritage. In the words of a writer in *The Atlantic Monthly*,²⁶ "The greatest obstacles to the speedy Americanization of 'foreigners' are the ridicule of, contempt for, and prejudice against them on the part of native Americans." The case of the lady in Philadelphia whose sister was a missionary in the Orient and who refused to rent her room to an Oriental student, and the case of a church which sold its down town building because of the increasing number of foreign neighbors and sent the money to the foreign field are interesting illustrations of an inconsistency in the working of the human mind.

Agencies.—There are practically no American agencies specializing on the Syrians. In only a few cities—New York, Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, Lawrence, Fall River and Boston—are they found in sufficient numbers to attract the attention of any agency; and even in these cities they are too widely scattered to be dealt with as a racial group. In Minneapolis, the University of Minnesota sends its students in Americanization classes to teach English to Syrians.

Among the Syrian agencies the work of the Syrian-American Club, with headquarters in Brooklyn, has been notable along the line of naturalization. Its last report shows that during the year 1919 the Club filled out 485 applications for first, and 112 for second, papers. An investigation made by the Club shows that only one half of those Syrians in Brooklyn eligible for citizenship are actual citizens.

Use of languages.—The old generation of Syrians

²⁶ John Kulamer, "Americanization: The Other Side," March 1920.

still hold the Arabic in almost sacred regard, and, true enough, their souls cannot be thrilled other than through its instrumentality. They throng to hear a speaker in this rich and musical mother tongue, but see no reason why they should tolerate anyone lecturing to them in another language. The reverse is true of the native born generation. In answer to a question as to whether she spoke Arabic, a three-year-old girl crossing Chouteau Avenue in St. Louis, replied, "No, ma'am, I speak American." But her elder sister companion confided to me that at home her sister did speak Syrian.

Use of racial sentiment.—If the absence of a strong sense of national pride facilitates the working of the process of assimilation, then the Syrians are among the easiest to assimilate. In many cases they do not like to be classified as Syrians. A five-year old boy in Brooklyn protested against being called Syrian on the ground that he was a "Yankee." Their names often undergo strange metamorphoses in a vain attempt to Anglicize them. Thus "Milad" becomes "Christmas," "Sham'un" Shannon, "Hurayz" Harris, and "Ashshi" Cook. This is especially true where the original patronymics are hard for Americans to handle, and stands in marked contrast with the case of an American-born Frenchman, named Robert, who insisted on my calling him Ro-ber (the French pronunciation for Robert).

"Did you not receive any aid from American sources?" asked I of the Maronite priest in Detroit who was showing me his newly built church and priding himself on its being one of the finest Syrian church buildings in the country. No sooner had his negative reply been made than my eyes caught "Edward A. Maynard," on the altar, and, asking for an explanation, the priest replied, "O, well, that is Wadi' Mu'auwad."

Learning the American mind.—The Syrian has an

unusual opportunity to learn American ways of thinking. He does not live in colonies of his own creation and his quarters are not suburbs of Zahleh, Beirūt and Tripoli. Besides the kind of business in which he is usually engaged—selling laces, white goods and rugs—brings him into close contact with American family life. Many a Syrian peddler, or ex-peddler, counts among his personal friends some of the best and most representative American families in his town or state.

Results as reflected by war service.—Among the foreign born the Syrians hold an enviable war record. In point of loyalty, patriotism and devotion to the institutions of this land, as demonstrated by the war, they have been unexcelled—even by the Americans themselves. In the long list of pro-German, suspicious and undesirable persons, supplied by four years of war, not a single Syrian name occurs. And technically speaking the Syrians came from a quasi-enemy country. In answer to a request in the questionnaire to a number of leading Syrians in the country to state something especially interesting about their respective communities, the reference was, in the majority of cases, to some glorious war episode, and the newspaper clippings enclosed were invariably of that nature.

According to a careful estimate based on the reports of the Provost Marshal General and other War Department documents, no less than 13,965²⁷ or about 7% of the whole Syrian community served in the United States army. In Portland, Maine, 15 Syrian youth—100% of those eligible for service—volunteered before the draft laws became effective.

At the Fore River plant, Quincy, Mass., a Syrian foreman of a gang of rivet drivers broke with his gang a world's record by driving 2,805 oil-tight

²⁷The Syrian-American Club of New York in its report of 1917-1918 estimates the number by 15,000.

rivets into the hull of a steel ship in a nine-hour stretch. In commenting upon his achievement *The Boston Herald* said, "There are no better Americans these days than Charlie Mulham and his fellow Syrians."

In Boston, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Manchester, N. H. and other places a number of Syrian Boy Scout and Red Cross chapters flourished during the war.

In the famous Fourth of July parade of 1918, the Syrian float "Liberated Syria" was awarded the second prize.

The report of the United States Government Loan Organization shows that of the Fourth Liberty Loan alone, 4,800 Syrians from the Second Federal Reserve District (which is the district of New York and environs) bought \$1,207,900 worth of bonds.

If such facts constitute a fair criterion of loyalty and patriotism, the Syrians could certainly not be said to be lacking in these attributes.

Chapter V

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

I: OLD FAITHS RETAINED

People in general and Syrians in particular hold more tenaciously to their religious beliefs than to any other of their mores. In America the Syrians as a rule are loyal to the churches of their birth. To them church affiliation is more a matter of birth and tradition than of conviction. "He is a Christian" connotes to a Syrian something entirely different from what it does to an American.

In numerical strength the Maronites with some 90,000, lead. The Greek Orthodox come next with about 85,000.¹ The Greek Catholics number little less than 10,000 and the Protestants do not probably exceed 5,000.

Native Churches.—Though scattered over the length and breadth of the country, where, in many cases, they are too few to maintain a church of their own, and adhere to American congregations, yet there is hardly a town with fifty families or more of the same sect which does not have a Syrian pastor or a Syrian church. Besides the missions maintained by them, the Syrians in this country have ninety-nine churches of their own and one hundred thirty-one native pastors. Of these thirty-seven churches are Maronite,² with forty-six pastors,

¹ *The Year Book of the Churches* for 1920 gives the Syrian Orthodox Church 50,000 "members."

² The figures used by *Neighbors. Studies in Immigration from the Standpoint of the Episcopal Church* (1919), regarding Syrian churches are unreliable.

thirty churches are Greek Orthodox, with thirty-two pastors, twenty-one Greek Catholic with twenty-three pastors, and three are Protestant, with three pastors.³

The Syrians give munificently to the support of their pastors and churches and except in the case of the young very few drift away from their influence. The philanthropic activities that center around these institutions are considerable on behalf of their own members. Each sect maintains several organizations, some in the interest of their young men, others for the benefit of the poor and for miscellaneous charitable purposes. These philanthropic enterprises are carried by the Syrians among themselves and are in no way related to American organizations.

The Syrian preference for a priest of his kin is only natural. The Greek Orthodox priest of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the only one within a radius of several hundred miles, is called upon by Syrians in Iowa, South Dakota, Nebraska and Wyoming to officiate at their weddings, baptisms and other religious ceremonies. In other places, such as Birmingham, Alabama, the Greek Orthodox, in default of a church of their own, do not hesitate to attend the Maronite Church.

First Syrian priest.—The honor of having sent the first Syrian missionary to the United States belongs to the Greek Catholic Church. The priest was Rev. Abraham Bechwate of Zahleh, now the Rt. Rev. Ekonomos, who arrived in New York, December 24, 1890. Before him, between 1875 and 1889, two or three Maronite priests had been to New York to raise money but under no permanent appointment. Bechwate came as a missionary with the permission of Rome, and his arrival was the signal for universal rejoicing in the Syrian community. On

³ For a complete list of churches and pastors see Appendices A-E.

Christmas Day he celebrated mass in the basement of St. Peter's Church at Barclay Street, where he continued to conduct the services for his flock until a few years ago when he moved to a church of his own at Washington Street.

Rev. Bechawate and his fellow priests of the Greek Catholic rite are under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic bishops of America.

The Maronite clergy.—These are also under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church. Their pioneer missionary, Rev. Betros Korkemaz, arrived August, 1891, and established himself in New York.

The relationship which the Maronite mission in the United States bears to the local Roman Catholic bishops of America, to Rome, and the Maronite patriarch in Lebanon is elucidated by the following passages quoted from Rev. Francis Wakim,⁴ who arrived in this country in 1904: "His Beatitude [the Maronite Patriarch] showed me a letter from Archbishop Farley in which he asked for a priest for the Syrian people of his city, as the priest in charge of the mission could no longer bear the burden of the work alone." As the Archbishop himself had sent for him, it was not necessary for Father Wakim to pass through Rome, as it might otherwise have been. Immediately after his arrival Father Wakim presented himself before Mons. Farley and after reading the Patriarch's letter, the Archbishop said⁵ "His Beatitude gives good accounts of you and your missionary labors at Mt. Libanum. I trust that you will work as well here for the salvation of souls. I recommend to you especially the care of the young. From this moment I give you all the facilities of the diocese."

Orthodox dissension.—The Syrian Orthodox Church in this country has from its very beginning

⁴ *The Reminiscences of a Missionary*, p. 5.

⁵ *Reminiscences*, p. 11.

leaned toward dependence upon the Russian Church. At the request of the Syrians in America the Holy Synod sent in 1895 Rev. Raphael Hawaweeny, a Syrian priest then pursuing his studies in Russia, as head of the Syrian Orthodox Church of America with headquarters at Brooklyn. Bishop Hawaweeny died in 1915. At the selection of his successor, Rev. Aftimius Ofish, in 1917, many objected to the Russian jurisdiction, and placed themselves under Archbishop Germanos of Selefkias, who happened to be visiting in this country, and organized an independent congregation under the name "the Antiochian Syrian Orthodox Church." Thus they reverted to the position they held in Syria under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of the Holy Eastern Orthodox Church of Antioch, Syria. Their churches in the United States number nineteen, whereas those which still owe allegiance to the Russian Synod number eleven.

Where no Syrian churches exist the communicants of this rite attend Greek (Hellenic) or Russian churches.

Protestants.—There is reason to believe that the number of Syrian Protestants who enter the United States exceeds the number retaining their Protestant church affiliation while in it. This is partly due to the fact that the kind of reception given them by American churches is not ordinarily such as to encourage the maintenance of the relationship. Besides they belong to the Evangelical Church of Syria which has no exact counterpart in any of the American Protestant denominations. This state of affairs is complicated by the fact that those of them who in the old country had coquetted with Protestantism see no reason why they should not, while in this country, revert to their old denominational status, especially since they find themselves associat-

ing and doing business with previous fellow co-religionists.

Brooklyn, Fall River, and Pittsburgh claim the only Syrian Protestant congregations organized with buildings of their own for conducting church services. In West Hoboken, Paterson, Jacksonville, Fla., and Wheeling are part time Protestant workers who meet with their communities in private halls or American church buildings. There are at least six Syrian pastors installed over American congregations.

Muhammadans.—Five times a day, eight thousand Syrian Muslims turn their faces to the south and repeat "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah." In Cleveland, Detroit, Akron and New York these Muhammadans have meeting places for prayer but in Detroit only they have established a mosque.^{5a} Their New York meeting place is in West Street, Manhattan. Their religious leaders devote only part of their time for pastoral duties.

Druzes.—Even the thousand or so Druzes in the United States have thus far succeeded in preserving whatever religion they have. Their leader is a successful business man in St. Joseph, Mo. The young men are organized into al-Bakurat al-Durziyah established in 1907 in Seattle with five branches in Cleveland, Detroit, Butte, Akron, and Norfolk, Va.

The president of the Cleveland chapter knows of only three Druze women in this country. According to him the question of bringing over the women folks is a subject of hot debate among the Druzes at present. The majority argue against it, lest it should mean the permanent settlement of the Druzes

^{5a} This mosque was established in 1921, but has just been closed up. There is one in Gary, Ind., however.

in America and the consequent loss of their religious and racial identity.

Nusayriyyah.—These have their headquarters in and around Newcastle, Pa., where 250 of them find employment in factories and mines. A *sheikh* of their own makes ministerial visits to them and their co-religionists in Indiana, Connecticut and West Virginia.

Jews.—The Syrian Jews in this country are identified with the Jewish immigrants from other lands, and for the purposes of this study are not included with the Syrian population of the country.

II: FORMS OF RELIGIOUS BREAK-UP

The same forces which make the Syrian transplant his church with him, and, having transplanted it, stand loyally by it are themselves a guarantee against any too rapid or extensive break-up taking place in its constituency. The conception of the church as a sort of national or racial institution and of affiliation in it as a matter of convention rather than conviction militates against the possibility of indulging in those intellectual processes which lead to atheism or anything kindred to it.

Indifference.—Indifference and not skepticism or free-thinking is the bane of religious life among this people. The it-doesn't-make-any-difference attitude of mind characterizes a number of their young people, but a professed atheist or agnostic or even rationalist is rarely seen. One never meets a Syrian who boasts of no religion as is the case with many Jews and Bohemians, and there is no organized movement among them, as among certain other racial groups, which seeks to draw people away from Christianity of any form of religion.

III: FORMS OF RELIGIOUS REALIGNMENTS

"A religion that is good enough for my fathers is good enough for me" is the kind of reply one receives on making inquiries along this line.

An interesting exception is the case of the twenty-five Syrians in Brooklyn who belong to the group commonly known as Russellites. They meet three nights a week, at 131 Pacific Street, Brooklyn, in addition to the Sunday meetings, and enjoy high reputation among their compatriots. They issue a monthly paper which at present is the only religious Arabic publication in the New World. There are fifteen other Syrian "Bible Students," as they prefer to call themselves, in Johnstown, Pa., Torrington, Conn., Naugatuck, Conn., and Akron, Ohio.

All matters of religion are, from the Syrian point of view, the monopoly of the church. In connection with every church there is almost always a sorority for women and often a semi-religious society for men. The Antiochian Greek Orthodox churches claim thirty-eight such societies in all parts of the country.

As a result of interest in war activities some Maronites and Greek Catholics came to join the Knights of Columbus, and a few of the others were introduced to the Y. M. or Y. W. C. A.

Protestant Church affiliation.—It is a poor comment on the kind of Protestantism prevailing in the United States that whereas the members of the Maronite and Greek Catholic communities hold tenaciously to their mother churches or identify themselves with American Roman Catholic churches, many of the Syrian Protestants lose all connection with evangelical denominations. Small in number and scattered over a wide area, the Syrian Protestant community is in no place strong enough to effect an efficient organization, and, in the Babel of evan-

gelical denominations, is lost and finds no place to fit in. In Brooklyn, where it is best represented, are a hundred Protestant families. For the Maronite, any Catholic church is available even if it is Polish or Italian, but the Syrian Protestant is at a loss to know which of the evangelical denominations is really his.

On the other hand among the churches themselves the responsibility for the Syrian Protestants is not clearly localized, though it is usually assumed by the Presbyterian Church because within its foreign mission field Syria is supposed to fall.

That well directed efforts on the part of American churches to win Syrians into their fold are not in vain is evidenced by the fact that on the membership roll of one church only, the Old Stone Church of Cleveland, which is one of the oldest and strongest Presbyterian (U. S. A.) churches in the city, ten Syrian names occur. The same church supports a Syrian mission at Bradley Court.

In St. Louis the Markham Memorial Church, Presbyterian, employs an Arabic speaking worker on part time among the Syrians of that town.

In Eastern Oklahoma an Archdeacon of the Episcopal Church reports⁶ that the only foreigners brought into any kind of touch with him are some Syrians in the oil towns who are looked after in some fashion by their own priests who make occasional visitations to the old fields. Many of their children belong to the Archdeacon's Sunday Schools. In New Hampshire Bishop Parker has extended a friendly hand by offering scholarships in his school for Syrian lads. At the time of the war he used his influence to provide religious ministrations for the Syrian Orthodox in the army.⁷

One of the earliest, perhaps the earliest, church to

⁶ *Neighbors*, p. 64.

⁷ *Neighbors*, p. 67.

realize its opportunity for service and usefulness among the Syrians was Trinity Church of New York. In its February *Record* of 1889 we read: "There is within a quarter of a mile of the Parish Church a community of Syrians, who, by every tie of faith and apostolic descent and of *humanity*, are ours to minister to and to succor.

"Three months ago there came into our parish a young Syrian [Assyrian] theological student of rare ability, who is preparing himself for the priesthood in order to return to his native land.

"This man has volunteered to work among his fellow-countrymen under the shadow of our spire. Visiting and instruction has begun. Regular meetings will be held, and the humble, lonely, penniless men, women and children be taught that the Church makes all lands home."

In spite of all these and similar desultory cases there remains an astounding degree of apathy on the part of the body of American Protestant churches towards the moral needs of the foreigners in general. Their refusal to assume responsibility, whether due to ignorance of the actual conditions, fastidiousness, race prejudice or indifference, is at all events to be condemned.

IV: FORMS OF RELIGIOUS APPROACH

The uniquely receptive attitude of mind toward all elevating influences which characterizes most immigrants, especially on their arrival, makes them a promising subject for missionary work. Any method of approach based on a sympathetic appreciation and understanding of their psychology and social antecedents is sure of a certain measure of success.

Social settlement.—The Bowling Green Neighborhood Association of New York, Denison House of Boston, and the Central Friendly Inn of Cleveland

are practically the only settlement houses that specialize on Syrians. All three do good work along physical and social lines but have no religious program to meet the spiritual needs of their neighbors.

Missions.—In so far as the self-respecting independent business man is concerned, the Protestant Church has put forth no effort in his behalf. The attempt was made to win the lower class through cheap and unattractive missions, but "good enough for the poor." Such attempt is doomed to failure. In these institutions the emphasis is placed on proselyting rather than prophesying, whereas the need is for spiritual enlightenment and moral guidance towards the solution of the multitudinous problems that beset a stranger in a strange land.

Institutional Church.—Most Syrians entertain strong prejudice against the institutional church based on the assumption that its chief interest in them consists in cutting them off from their traditional past and relating them to an entirely new and alien institution. The memory they bring with them of the working of the missionaries in Syria sustains them in this belief. If they could be brought to realize that the object of the church is to make them better Christians, more Christ-like—be they Maronite, Catholic or Orthodox—rather than convert them to a particular denomination the problem would be half solved.

Street evangelism.—To a people used to dignified and ceremonious forms of worship, the soap box variety of evangelization can have little appeal. They may stop and watch but more often than else for the sake of curiosity. That curiosity may in rare cases prove to be the first step towards something more serious is evidenced by the case of a Syrian student whom I met studying at the Moody Bible Institute and who was converted in a street meeting

of the Salvation Army. But the life of the community in general cannot be touched in this way.

A minister of kin.—This is the chief agency through which the hope of Christianizing the immigrants can be realized. Every community looks to certain men among its own group to interpret America and stand between them and the New World. For the coming generation the problem is being solved automatically but for the adults there is need for a prophet—rather prophets—to be raised up from the Syrians themselves to point out the way. Unfortunately most of the Syrians of the new type qualified to assume spiritual leadership are absorbed by American communities. It is a noteworthy fact that in the United States there are more Syrian Protestant pastors with American congregations than there are Syrian Protestant pastors with Syrian congregations.

V: LITERATURE

The Syrian secular press comprises ten newspapers and five magazines all of which are printed in Greater New York, with the exception of two in Boston, two in Lawrence, Mass., and one in Detroit, Mich.⁸ The publications which were started in the course of the last dozen years but did not survive are many times that number. Some of them died before they were fully established.

Religious press.—For a number of years Bishop Hawaweeny issued a monthly publication, *al-Kalimah* (The Word), which was the official organ of the Syrian Greek Orthodox Church. With his death, however, the publication ceased to exist.

At present the only religious publication in America is a monthly paper *al-Asr al-Dhahabi* (The Golden Age) issued monthly in eight pages as "a religious exponent of the word of God," and published

⁸ See list in Appendix F.

in Brooklyn by the "Associated Syrian Bible Students." Its content consists largely of translations from Russellite literature.

Tracts.—No tracts whatever are issued for Syrians in the United States. A visit to the Chicago Tract Society disclosed the existence of certain Arabic pamphlets and treatises published in the nineteenth century by the American Press at Beirūt and in Cairo and better fitted for a museum of antiquities. Aside from a few tracts distributed occasionally by Russellite missionaries, there is nothing that is being done among Syrians along the line of tracts or general religious literature. The Syrian susceptibility to the influence of the written word, which we have already observed, makes him a good field for the reception of up-to-date moral and spiritual literature, provided it is written in a style and put out in a form that would arrest his attention and command his respect.

Chapter VI

SPECIAL PROBLEMS, FUTURE PROSPECTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I: RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

Leadership of foreign language churches.—In the period of transition before the immigrant has had time and opportunity to be incorporated into the American body, and until he is organically related to the religious life of his new country, the foreign language church has a vacancy to fill. Though weak and lacking in men and women equipped to develop Sunday Schools and important religious training, yet the native Syrian church is practically the only spiritual agency that can tell on the life of the Syrian immigrant. Away from the home sources which supplied him with moral and religious guidance, and as an alien in an alien atmosphere, his temptations and dangers are especially intensified. Here he finds things done which have hitherto seemed immoral to him. A shifting of ethical standards, radical and abrupt, begins to take place. If along with this, he loses his religious sanctions his plight is great indeed.

Before having been here a number of years many young Syrians begin to look upon the religion of their fathers as something discredited. They discard it unreservedly, and with it the whole body of precepts which constitutes their moral code and which has been closely associated in their minds with religious belief. The unfortunate thing is that the

old, in which there was little good, is forsaken before the new, which is perhaps better, has been fully adopted.

Kinsmen trained in native land.—Up to the present time the influence of Syrians trained in the mother country is still more effective than the influence of those trained in America. But it is not all of the kind that harmonizes with American conceptions and ideals. Except in the case of those trained in the American institutions in Syria and particularly in the American University of Beirût, training in the Old World does not qualify for right leadership in the New World.

Kinsmen trained in America.—The number of Syrians who avail themselves of the facilities for training which this country can provide is comparatively small, and those of them who, having had the requisite training, engage in work among their fellow countrymen is still smaller. The question of bringing the influence of American trained Syrians to bear on Syrian communities is one of the most difficult questions confronting the Syrian people. A typical case was described to me by the head of a religious organization at Chicago who tried in vain to induce a young Syrian graduate from McCormick Seminary to invest his life in work among Syrians in the United States. The American gentleman argued that anybody could become minister of an American church, but that there was one thing which no one else could do so well, and that was to minister to the spiritual needs of his own people. The young man on the other hand could not see why he should reject an offer from a modern church in a progressive community in favor of one in the dirty part of the city among poor and illiterate people, where his remuneration was small and the possibilities of growth and promotion remote.

Americans trained in foreign land.—The only ones

who might come under the category are returned missionaries and exstaffites of the Syrian Protestant College. Both groups could render signal service, if they could only be used. Missionaries come here for a year's furlough and their time is fully occupied. Most of the teachers who go out to the University at Beirut go under a three-year contract at the expiration of which they mostly return to the United States for good. They are in most cases college men of the best type, and their experience in Syria is a great asset for such work. Nevertheless the only case I know of in which advantage was taken of this situation was that of a young American who was employed in the Syrian Community Center, Brooklyn, and that for a short time only. The work of such men ought to supplement the work of native leaders so as to meet effectively all the moral and intellectual issues raised in the quick and adaptable natures of these people by the changed conditions under which they live.

Women workers.—Nowhere have the Christian forces yet begun to appreciate the value of women workers as an agency in conserving, perpetuating and propagating Christian thought and sentiment. The Y. W. C. A. is just starting to use foreign born women for work among immigrants. On its lists it has a Syrian woman working in Brooklyn. One of the down town churches in New York employs a Syrian missionary woman but not among Syrian immigrants. The only independent Syrian woman worker is in Philadelphia where she conducts a large Bible class and is in great demand as church speaker. In this case, too, the Syrians reap no benefit from her knowledge or experience and to them she does not exist.

Many old-fashioned Syrians still entertain the notion that household work is the only proper field for a woman's activity and would therefore be

shocked at the sight of a woman missionary. Hence the necessity of using only women of special tact and intelligence who could prove their worth by their achievement and who could accomplish, through their comparatively easy access into family life, what no male workers could accomplish.

II: THE FUTURE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE CHURCHES

These are destined sooner or later to disappear. Their mainstay is the stream of newcomers, but that is going some day to stop.

If the process of evolution takes its natural course, the Maronite and Greek Catholic children will, in due time, become American Catholics, the Greek Orthodox children will be identified with the Protestant Episcopalians, and the Protestant children will naturally affiliate themselves with the Presbyterians, Methodists or other evangelical communities.

Even at present the sight of a child born of Maronite parents who thinks he is nothing more or less than a Roman Catholic is not rare. I have come across many such children born in American communities to whom the term "Maronite" meant nothing specific or distinct. To all intents and purposes, they are Roman Catholics. Almost all the Maronite clergy who were consulted agreed on this possibility. Even the Maronite Bishop, who has recently visited this country, the only Maronite bishop who has ever been to the United States, conceded the certainty of this conclusion unless, as he expressed it, a Syrian Maronite bishop for America was appointed.

The Greek Orthodox Syrians gravitate towards the Episcopal Church. The latter has enough in its ritual to attract these children of an Oriental church which like them owes no allegiance to Rome. According to *Neighbors*¹ "Their attitude is so cordial

¹ *Neighbors*, p. 65.

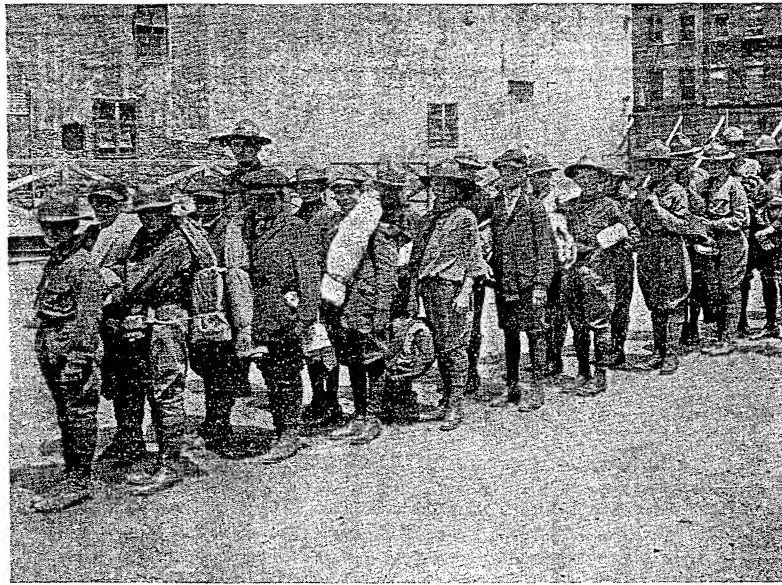
and trustful that our [Episcopal] clergy are occasionally asked by a Syrian Orthodox congregation to organize a Sunday School for them on our own lines."

III: THE CHURCH A FORCE IN ASSIMILATION

The basis of assimilation is that community of thought and saneness of outlook upon life which makes the different members of a society homogeneous. In bringing about this community the church through its social program, educational activities and religious teaching is a potent factor.

Christianizing and Americanizing.—In the last analysis Christianizing, in its broadest aspects, and Americanizing are two processes converging towards the same ultimate goal. Americanization, at its best, is the substitution of the law of right for the law of might, the acquiescence of the individual in the will of the majority and the cultivation of the sense of fair play, justice, and good-will—which, after all, form a part of the essence of true Christianity.

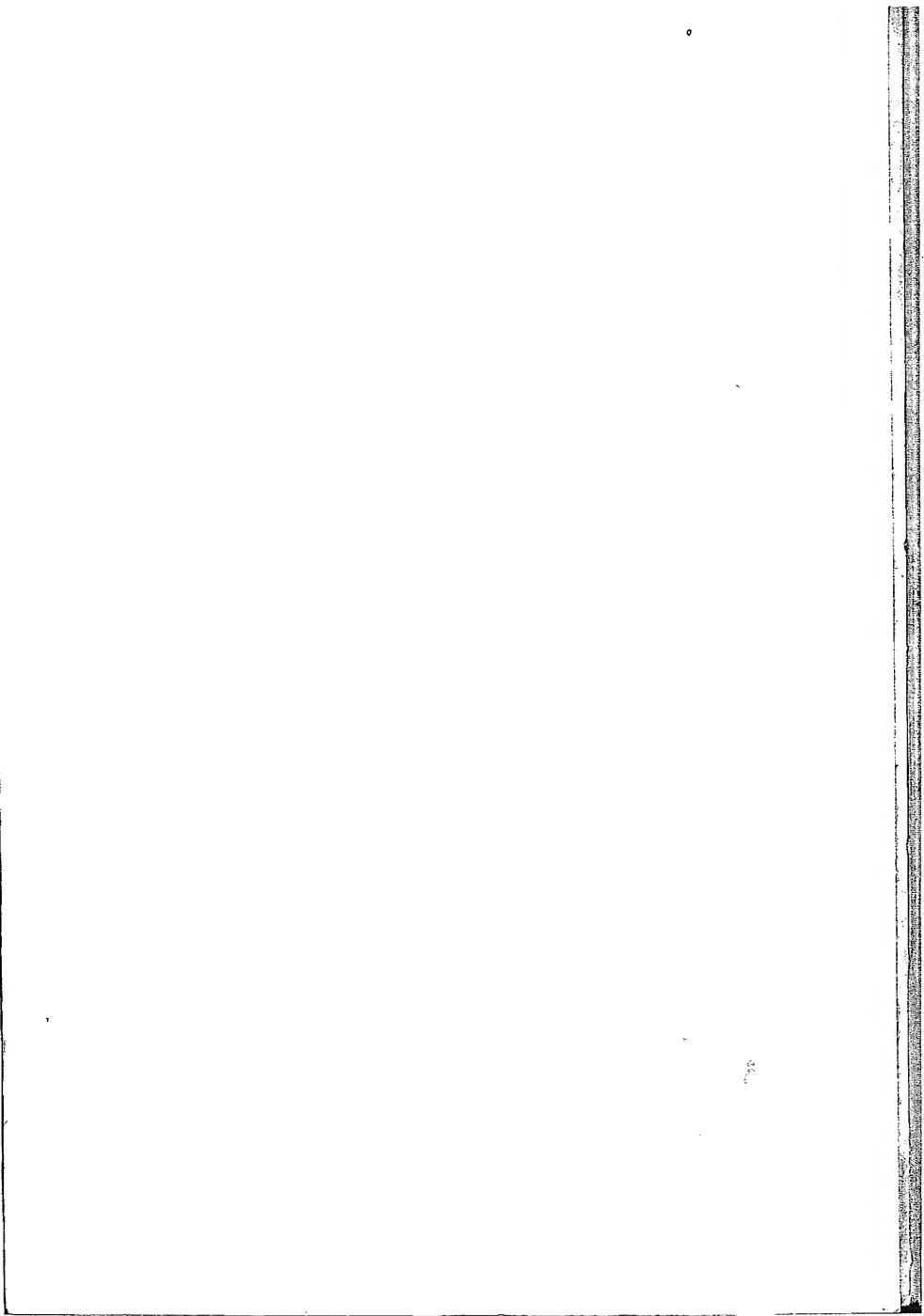
Between the ideals of the Republic and the Christian religion there is an identity of spirit. Both insist on the sacredness and worth of the individual human being. Both decree that for the individual to seek self-fulfilment, it is necessary that he should forsake his exclusive, egocentric self and find a larger and freer life in the service of the whole of which he forms a part. In the case of the Syrians, those of them identified with American congregations make the best Americans. On asking a young man from Norfolk, Va., as to whether he knew of any Syrians in his town, the reply came after some hesitation that there was a Syrian member of a Baptist church but that he was never looked upon as a foreigner.



SYRIAN BOY SCOUTS READY FOR A HIKE



SYRIAN GIRL SCOUTS DRILLING ON THE PLAYGROUND



National unification. — Whatever contributes towards racial assimilation helps to that extent in national unification. The basis of unity in a modern nationality is not so much geographical, racial, or linguistic as it is psychological. It is a desire on the part of a group of men to live their lives together, and to work together, with a common purpose towards a common end.

The church, in so far as it inculcates in its constituency a common general point of view and renders them likeminded, is unconsciously helping in bringing about national unification. The more the immigrants enter into the religious life of America the better and quicker they become Americans.

IV: RECOMMENDATIONS

1. In view of the fact that the Syrians in the United States are not, and can not, be racially organized, and since they are dispersed in small numbers over wide areas, there is no necessity for organized religious effort to specialize on them. Nor is it advisable to have them grouped with other immigrants, as they have no points of contact with any other racial group. Kindliness free from condescension and readiness on the part of American congregations to extend the hand of fellowship is all that is needed to insure their incorporation in those congregations. The earlier the new settlers are approached the easier it is to win their confidence and interest.

2. In the few places where Syrians live in the same neighborhood native leadership should be encouraged to the utmost degree. In the words of a favorite Syrian saying, "Nothing else makes the impression on a tree that is made by a branch of it" —wielding an axehead. The work of Syrian teachers and religious leaders should be supplemented and strengthened by the assistance and advice of

American workers, men and women, who by previous experience and training might be qualified for the work.

Better results are likely to ensue if the work is carried on under interdenominational or non-denominational auspices.

3. The first impression is often the lasting one. Hence the importance of reaching the newcomer immediately after his arrival and trying to relate him to the religious life of the country before his other interests begin to absorb most of his energy and time. In the period of readjustment to his new environment the immigrant is handicapped in various ways and beset with the greatest moral dangers.

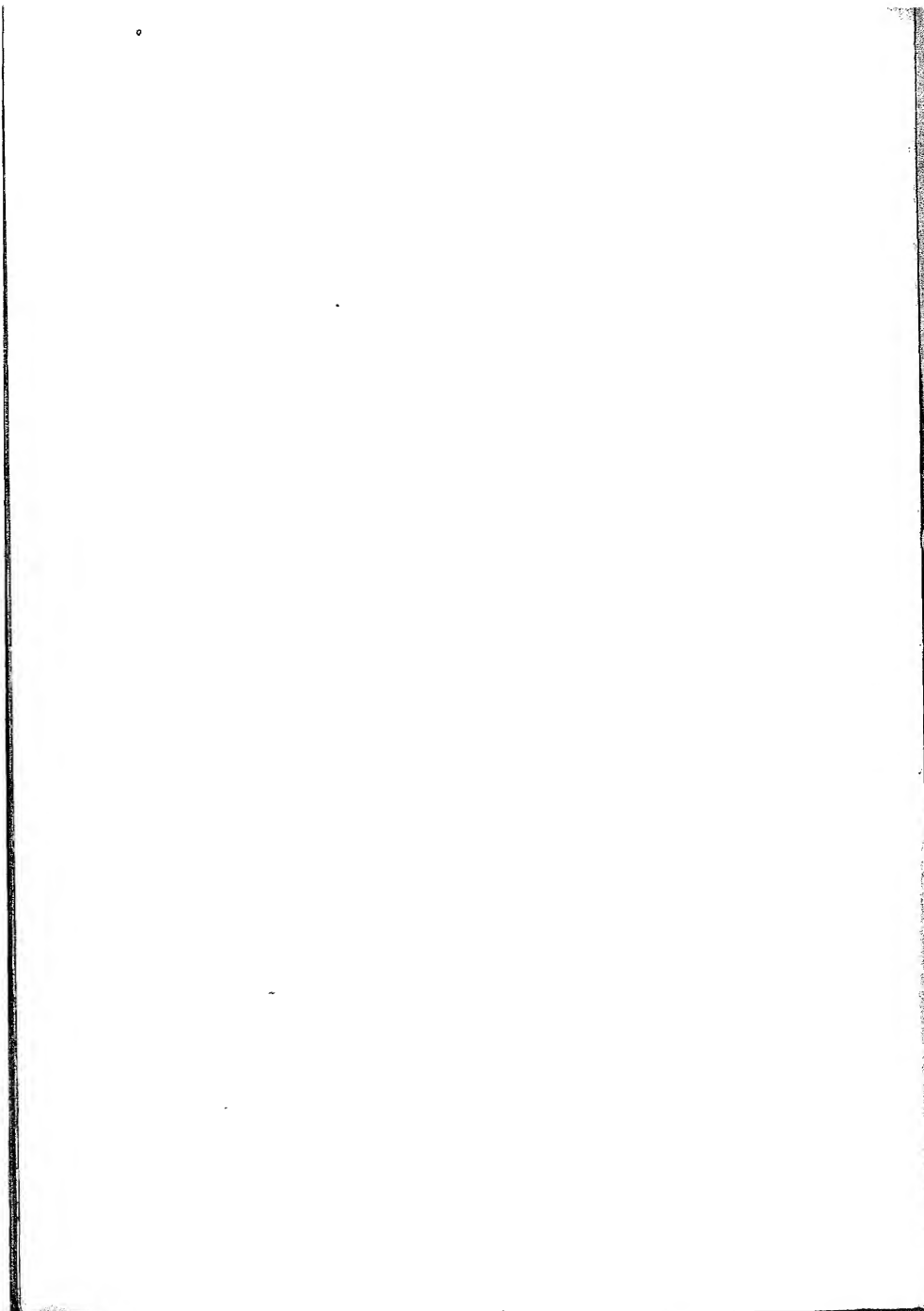
4. As a general principle the aim of all Christian work among the Christian Syrians should be to vitalize and vivify rather than to proselytize and convert. The Syrian Christians are neither exactly Roman Catholics nor Protestants as are the American Christians. They belong to venerable old Oriental churches—Maronite, Jacobite and Greek Orthodox. To render the greatest service for them, would be to help them shift the emphasis from conventional religion to ethical living, and to translate religious belief into action and conduct.

5. Since to the Syrians, religion, morality and racial status are different aspects of one and the same thing, special caution should be taken not to undermine any phases of their faith without reasonable assurance that the substitute would be accepted. How to make them hold on to the good they have until they acquire the better to be had, should be the chief concern of all those rightly interested in their welfare.

6. The Syrians are brought up to look upon religious matters as things dignified, worthy of commanding respect and reverence. All methods of approach that do not take cognizance of this fact are

therefore liable to fail. The kind of work conducted on street corners or in mission houses has little attraction for them.

7. After all is said and done, it is not the pastor, the religious worker, or the official representative of the church, but the ordinary man and woman with whom the immigrant deals, that is going to determine his attitude toward Christian America. Unless in our common everyday life contact with him we try to embody and exemplify the best and highest that is in our Christianity and democracy, all professional efforts might prove in vain.



Appendix A

MARONITE CHURCHES AND PRIESTS IN THE UNITED STATES

<i>Church and Priest</i>	<i>Residence</i>
Our Lady of Lebanon, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Kairullah Stephen. ¹	295 Hicks Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
SS Peter and Paul, Rev. Michael Abi-Saab. Maronite Congregation, Rev. Paul Rissk.	172 Liberty St., Springfield, Mass. Worcester, Mass.
Sacred Heart, Rev. Michael Abraham.	1001 W. 8th St., Michigan City, Ind.
Our Lady of St. Lebanon, Rev. Paul Abraham.	2329 Market St., Wheeling, W. Va.
St. Maron's, Rev. Paul Abi-Rizk.	616 Main Street, Torrington, Ct.
St. Maro's, Rev. Elias Asmar.	175 Orleans St., Detroit, Mich.
St. Joseph's, Rev. Nemstalla Atala. Rev. Paul Azar.	47 N. Butler St., Atlanta, Ga.
St. Maro's, V. Rev. Nematallah Beg- giani.	818 Wilson Ave., Youngstown, Ohio.
Our Lady of Lebanon, Rev. Benedict Bellama.	327 Eleventh St., Niagara Falls, N. Y.
St. Anthony's, Rev. Gabriel Boetany. Rev. Ignatius Sayegh.	258 Elm Street, Lawrence, Mass.
Our Lady of Purgatory, Rev. George Sebhiani.	11 Franklin St., New Bedford, Mass.

¹No uniform system of transliteration was used in the proper names of priests which occur in the Appendices. The names were rather spelled as the owners would spell them.

<i>Church and Priest</i>	<i>Residence</i>
St. Maro's, Rev. Louis Zouain. Rev. George Aziz.	2214 E. 21st St., Cleveland, O.
St. Ann's, Rev. Stephen Corkemaz.	Fourth St., Troy, N. Y.
Atonement, Rev. Tobias Dahdah.	414 W. Third St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
St. George's, Rev. Joseph Awad.	73 Loomis St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Maronite Church, Rev. Gabriel Tarhal.	625 Main St., N. E., Minne- apolis, Minn.
Holy Family, Rev. Gabriel Tarhal.	Robie & Ada Sts., St. Paul, Minn.
St. George's, Rev. Nametalla Gideon.	85 America St., Providence, R. I.
St. Joseph's, Rev. Selouanos Jaoudi.	Olean, N. Y.
St. Anthony, Rev. Hanna Bekorkasha.	315 Park Ave., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
St. Raymond's, Rev. Joseph Karam.	925 LaSalle St., St. Louis, Mo.
St. Elias, Rev. Joseph Ganem.	Ave. F. & 20th St., Birming- ham, Ala.
St. Louis Gonzaga, Rev. Louis Lotaif.	Utica, N. Y.
St. Ann's, Rev. Simon Aele.	33 Fullerton St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
St. Elias Church, Rev. Peter Rabil.	214 N. Jefferson St., Roanoke, Va.
St. Anthony of the Desert, Rev. Cesar Farie.	286 Jenks St., Fall River, Mass.
St. Ann's, Rev. Stephen Donaihi.	1320 Price St., Scranton, Pa.
St. Anthony the Hermit, Rev. Youakim Stephan.	1201 St. Ange Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
St. John Maron, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Francis Shemali.	41 Cedar St., Buffalo, N. Y.
Rev. Nemet Allah Chemaly.	
St. Anthony's, Rev. A. Terbay.	2316 E. Grace St., Richmond, Va.
St. Joseph's, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Francis Wakim.	57 Washington St., New York, N. Y.

<i>Church and Priest</i>	<i>Residence</i>
St. Maron's, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Joseph Yazbek.	1001 Ellsworth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Our Lady of the Cedars of Mt. Lebanon, Rev. Joseph K. Yazbek.	78 Tyler St., Boston, Mass.
Maronite Congregation, Rev. Stephan Awad.	Toronto, Can.
Maronite Congregation, Rev. Louis Soaib.	Sydney, N. S., Can.
Maronite Congregation, Rev. Antonious Najaim.	Kitschner, Can.
Maronite Priests without churches — temporary visitors, Rev. Paul Moshy.	Michigan City, Ind.
Rt. Rev. Mgr. Joseph Chebia.	New Bedford, Mass.
Rev. Antonn Abi-Zaid.	Baltimore, Md.
Rev. Anton Yazbeck.	1001 Ellsworth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. Gabriel Zehenni.	Dayton, O.
Rev. George Abi-Jaoudi.	Niagara Falls, N. Y.

Appendix B

GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCHES AND PRIESTS

<i>Church and Priest</i>	<i>Residence</i>
Lady of the Annunciation, Rt. Rev. Archimandrite Nicholas Gannam. Rev. Athanasi Gannam.	178 Harrison St., Boston, Mass.
St. Joseph's, Rt. Rev. Basil Nahas. Rev. Peter Abouzeid.	298 Oak St., Boston, Mass.
St. John the Baptist, Rt. Rev. Archimandrite Saroufim R. Roumie.	1249 Washtenah Ave., Chicago, Ill.
St. George's, Rev. Peter Nahas	1611 State St., Milwaukee, Wis.
St. George's, Rt. Rev. Archimandrite Taophilos Khalaf.	19 Rector St., New York City.
Our Lady of Mercy, Rev. Paul Sion.	9 S. West St., Shenandoah, Pa.
Virgin Mary, Rt. Rev. Paul Sanky. Rev. Nicholas Araktin.	401 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
St. Elias, Rev. M. Mufleh.	1225 Webster Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
St. Joseph's Church, Rev. Agabios Riashi.	467 Locust St., Akron, O.
Syrian Mission, Rev. Clement Sawaya.	Trinidad, Colo.
Our Lady of Redemption, Rev. Clement Salman.	7712 Mack Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Our Lady of Immaculate Con- ception, (Vacant).	310 Kuntz St., Dubois, Pa.
St. Ann's, Rev. Nicholas Medawar.	51 William St., Danbury, Conn.
Our Lady of Lourdes, Rev. Archimandrite Philip Salmone.	810 Caledonia St., La Crosse, Wis.

<i>Church and Priest</i>	<i>Residence</i>
Syrian Missionary, Rev. Gerasimos Sawaya.	539 S. Hancock St., Los Angeles, Cal.
St. Michael's Mission, Rev. Aghanatios Gebara.	362 Henry St., Brooklyn, N.-Y.
St. Ann's, Rev. Cyril Anid.	235 Mill St., Paterson, N. J.
St. Saviour, Rev. Elias Aboud.	1424 S. 12th St., Omaha, Neb.
St. Basil's, Rev. Timothy Jock.	299 Broad St., Pawtucket, R. I.
St. Joseph's, Rt. Rev. Economos Thomas Fayad.	130 Chestnut Ave., Scranton, Pa.
St. Basil's, Rev. Beshara Kayata.	803 3rd. Ave., Utica, N. Y.

Appendix C

ANTIOCHIAN GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCHES AND PRIESTS

<i>Church and Priest</i>	<i>Residence</i>
St. Mary's, Archbishop Germanos of Baalbek. Rt. Rev. Agapios Golam.	117 Schermerhorn St., Brook- lyn, N. Y.
St. George's, Rev. Peter Azar.	1301 S. 10th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
St. Michael's, Rev. Nicholas Ed.	1247 Long Ave., Beaumont, Tex.
St. George's, Rev. Meletios Fiani.	359 La Grave Ave., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Rev. Daniel George.	109 Blackman St., Wilkes- Barre, Pa.
St. George's, Rev. Gerasimos Ghareeb.	1114 Erie St., Toledo, O.
St. George's, Rev. Elias S. Hamaty.	1521 Ave. F., Kearney, Neb.
St. George's, Rev. Michael Husson.	32 Norfolk St., Worcester, Mass.
St. George's, Rev. Alexios John.	55 Main St., Glens Falls, N. Y.
Rev. George Kashouty.	736 13th St., N. W., Washing- ton, D. C.
Rev. John Kerehe.	9 Cambridge Terrace, N. Cam- bridge, Mass.
Rev. Siluanos Khoury.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
St. Michael's, Rev. Paul Majdalani.	1167 P. O. Box, Monessen, Pa.
St. George's, Rev. George Maloof.	32 Hudson St., Boston, Mass.
Rev. Spiridon Massooh.	2486 Scranton Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

<i>Church and Priest</i>	<i>Residence</i>
St. George's, Rev. George Michael.	471 Elmwood Ave., Detroit, Mich.
St. Michael's, Rev. Nicholas Nahas.	55 Tellman St., Geneva, N. Y.
St. George's, Rev. Seraphim Nassar.	98 Suffolk St., Lowell, Mass.
St. Demetrius, Rev. Andrews Nassir.	207 Chestnut St., Johnstown, Pa.
Rev. Methodios J. Nicholas.	133-135 E. Canon Presidio St., Santa Barbara, Cal.
St. Simon's, Rev. John Saba.	109 Suffolk St., Ironwood, Mich.
St. Elias', Rev. Elias Sady.	714 Mill St., La Crosse, Wis.
St. George's, Rev. Makarios Saffie.	1111 Openwood St., Vicksburg, Miss.
Rev. A. S. Zaine.	122 Woodbine St., Pawtucket, R. I.

Appendix D

SYRIAN GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCHES AND PRIESTS AFFILIATED WITH THE RUS- SIAN CHURCH

<i>Church and Priest</i>	<i>Residence</i>
St. Nicholas' Cathedral, Most Reverend Archbishop Aftimios Ofiesh. V. Rev. Basil M. Kerbawy.	345 State St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 124 Pacific St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
St. George's, Rev. M. Murr.	227 Truslow St., Charleston, W. Va.
St. George's, Rev. Philipous Abo-As- saley.	207 Ellsworth Ave., Grand Rapids, Mich.
St. George's, Rev. Solomon Boulos.	724 Robert St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
St. Michael's, Rev. S. Beshara.	895 4th St., Beaumont, Texas.
St. George's, Rev. A. B. Farah.	1016 Holiday St., Michigan City, Ind.
St. John's, Rev. Solomon Faireny.	143 Hudson St., Boston, Mass.
St. George's, Rev. Joseph Ghiz.	10 Groton Place, Worcester, Mass.
Mission Station, Rev. M. Abihider.	17 Patton St., Springfield, Mass.
St. Elias', Rev. John Hakim.	1171 South 10th St., Philadel- phia, Pa.
St. George's, Rev. Joseph Kacere.	1009 12th Ave., East Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
St. George's, V. Rev. George Kattouf.	380 Kling St., Akron, Ohio.
St. George's, Rev. Meletios Koury.	2008 Maple St., Homestead, Pa.
St. George's, Rev. Nicholas Ofiesh.	113 Locust St., New Kensing- ton, Pa.
St. Elias', Rev. George Mitchell.	503 Market St., Brownsville, Pa.

<i>Church and Priest</i>	<i>Residence</i>
St. George's, Rev. George Nahas.	34 Sabin St., Pawtucket, R. I.
St. Mary's, Rev. M. C. Saba.	307 Chestnut St., Johnstown, Pa.
St. George's, Rev. Job Salloom.	1330 Maryland Ave. N. E., Washington, D. C.
St. Nicholas', Rt. Rev. E. Abo-Hatab.	673 St. Denis St., Montreal. Quebec, Can.
Rev. Solomon Merighe, As- sistant.	208 Park La Fontaine, Mon- treal, Quebec, Can.
St. George's, Rev. Elias El-Koury.	1618 Maple St., Wichita, Kans.
St. George's, Rev. E. Hamati.	74 Austin St., Norwood, Mass.
St. Mary's, Rev. Abdallah Khoury.	18 McCarregher St., Wilkes- Barre, Pa.
St. George's, Rev. Elias Nassar.	A St. & 27th Ave., Meridian, Miss.
St. George's, Rev. Shakrallah Shadid.	1118 West 2nd St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
St. George's, Rev. George Trad.	615 Blandina St., Utica, N. Y.
St. George's, Rev. J. E. Xanthopolous.	431 Wyoming Ave., Scranton, Pa.
St. George's, Rev. Theodore Yanni.	20 Hoxey St., Paterson, N. J.
St. George's, Rev. Simion Issa.	1096 Apartado, Mexico, D. F.
St. George's, Rev. B. G. Mahfouz.	4501 3rd Ave., Sioux City, Iowa.
Not Assigned, Rev. Constantine Abou- Adal.	164 Congress St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
ENGLISH-SPEAKING DEPARTMENT (NON-PAROCHIAL CLERGY)	
Chapel of St. Michael, Rev. M. G. H. Gelsinger.	P. O. Box 213, Williamsburg, Va.
Rt. Rev. Patrick Mythen,	345 State St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. A. Wm. H. Schneider, U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.	
Rev. Kyrill A. W. Johnson, Andover Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.	
Rev. Boris R. Burden, 345 State St., Brooklyn, N. Y.	

Appendix E

SYRIAN PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND PASTORS

<i>Church and Pastor</i>	<i>Residence</i>
Syrian Reformed, Rev. Antonius J. Khouri.	2315 Maple Ave., N., Pitts- burgh, Pa.
Syrian Protestant Congrega- tion, Rev. Dr. K. A. Bishara.	203 Clinton St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mr. Abdo Gorab.	Paterson and W. Hoboken, N. J.
Mr. Michael J. Hazoury. Manchester, N. H.	825 Talleyrand Ave., Jackson- ville, Fla.
Syrian Protestant Congrega- tion, Rev. Joseph Zaidan.	246 Flint St., Fall River, Mass.
Syrian Protestant Congrega- tion, (M. C.), Rev. Shibley D. Malouf.	81 Shawmut Ave., Boston, Mass.

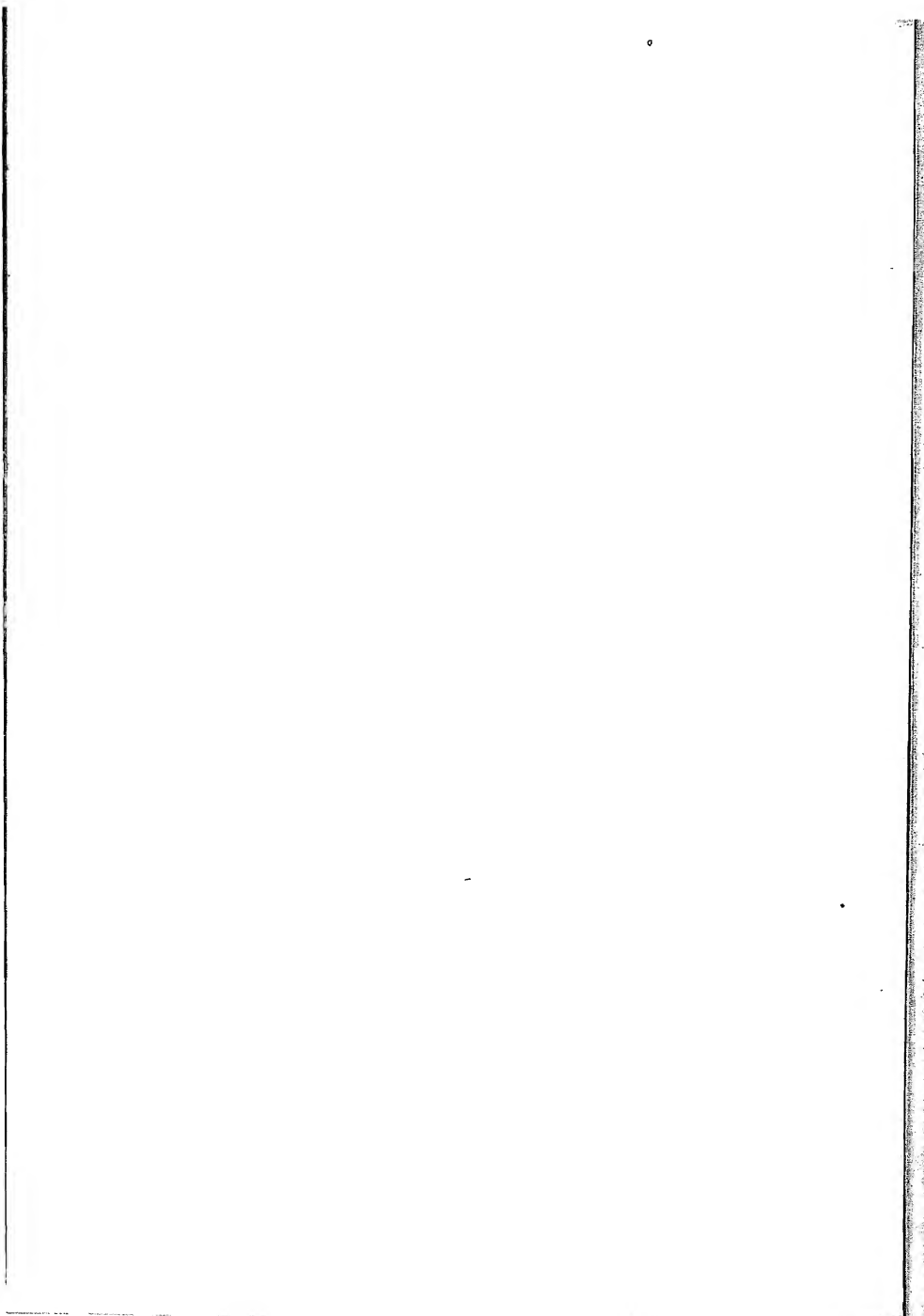
Appendix F

SYRIAN NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Al-Hada, Daily.	81 West St., New York City.
Meraat-ul-Gharb, Daily.	93 Washington St., New York City.
Ash-Shaab, Daily.	54 West St., New York City.
An-Nisr, Daily.	181 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Al-Bayan, Thrice weekly.	391 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
As-Sayeh, Semi-weekly.	19 Rector St., New York City.
Al-Majallah al-Tijariyah, Monthly Magazine.	74 Greenwich St., New York City.
Al-Akhlak, Monthly Magazine.	72 Trinity Place, New York City.

RELIGIOUS

Al-Asr Al-Dhahabi, Monthly paper.	151 Baltic St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
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